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REPLY TO DR. PEABODY.

BY WILLIAM I. BOWDITCH....NO. VII. (CONCLUDED).

COLONISATION.

Dr. P. says that the removal of 100,000 annually for twenty-five years would "not only prevent any increase of the slave population, but would reduce it from twenty to twenty-five per cent. below its present number." Twenty per cent. of the present number is 636,852; so that, he thinks, by sending away 100,000 annually for twenty-five years, we should then have only 2,547,410 slaves. Even if this were so, we doubt whether Slavery would be any more a "manageable evil" than it is now, when the slaves number 3,184,262. But the computation is fatally erroneous. Allowing, as before, only 28 per cent. for annual increase of the slaves, in twenty-five years, we should be able to reduce the present number of slaves only 385,043 instead of 636,852; and the number of slaves then remaining would be 2,799,219 instead of 2,547,410. In other words, after spending $250,000,000, and labouring twenty-five years, we should be able to reduce the present number of slaves only about one-eighth!

Taking the whole black population together, free and slave, the annual increase is, as we have seen, more than three per cent. If, however, we take this to be the true rate, and send to Africa 100,000 every year (the number suggested by Mr. Webster, in his speech before the American Colonisation Society, at its last annual meeting (35 Ann. Rep. p. 28), the black population will *actually increase*. If we send 150,000 every year, it will take a little over forty-three years, and will cost us rather more than $645,000,000, to relieve the country of the black population. The addition of this sum, or anything like it, must enormously increase the difficulty of emancipation.

In his speech of 7th March, before quoted, Mr. Webster said:

> I have one other remark to make. In my observations upon Slavery as it has existed in the country, and as it now exists, I have expressed no opinion of the mode of its extinguishment or amelioration. I will say, however, though I have nothing to propose, because I do not deem myself so competent as other gentlemen to take any lead, that if any gentleman from the South shall propose a scheme of colonisation, to be carried on by this Government upon a large scale, for the transportation of free coloured people to any colony or any place in the world, I should be quite disposed to incur almost any degree of expense to accomplish that object. Nay, sir, following an example set here more than twenty years ago by a great man, then a Senator from New York, I would return to Virginia, and through her for the benefit of the whole South, the money received from the lands and territories ceded by her to this Government, for any such purpose as to relieve, in whole or in part, or in any way to diminish or deal beneficially with, the free coloured population of the Southern States. I have said that I honour Virginia for her cession of this territory. There have been received into the treasury of the United States eighty millions of dollars, the proceeds of the sales of public lands ceded by her. If the residue should be sold at the same rate, the whole aggregate will exceed two hundred millions of dollars. If Virginia and the South see fit to adopt any proposition to relieve themselves from the free people of colour among them, or such as may be made free, they have my free consent that the Government shall pay them any sum of money out of its proceeds, which may be adequate to the purpose.

This sum of $200,000,000 will not quite pay one-third the expense of removing the black population!

It appears by the Land Commissioner's Report, Nov. 30, 1850 (Am. Almanac for 1852, p. 190-191), that the gross proceeds of the public lands sold previous to that time was $135,339,092—the nett proceeds being only $60,381,213, "or an annual average of nearly a million of dollars for the last fifty years." This would suffice to send only 10,000 emigrants, less than 1-10 the annual increase. "If there should be added to this sum, at the rate of $1.25 per acre, the value of the land granted for bounties, schools, internal improvements, it would amount to nearly double the above sum"—say $2,000,000. This would not suffice to send 1-5 of the annual increase.

But (says Dr. P.) there is no reason for supposing that the whole expense would fall on the Government. If these African colonies prosper, and the blacks become satisfied that Africa opens to them and their children better prospects than America, a new state of things will soon exist. The African trade, already an important one, will be constantly enlarging and increasing in value. The commercial relations between America and Liberia will become more close. Commerce opens and makes easy the way, and provides the means and facilities, for emigration. As the ships engaged in the trade of the two countries become more numerous, the opportunities for procuring a passage will increase. The number of free blacks is already large; and any great diminution in the value of slave labour, in connection with other causes to which we have referred, is likely to make it larger; while in general, they will easily find the means to pay the expenses of emigration. Each prosperous emigrant will become a centre of attraction to the little circle of friends whom he has left behind in this country. Those now free are not more destitute than the Irish; and as soon as they are satisfied that Liberia holds out a reasonable assurance to them of prosperity and comfort, they will find their way thither through some of the multiplied avenues of a constantly growing intercourse. When it becomes evident that the colony is established on a firm basis, and that it opens profitable opportunities for the investment of capital and the employment of industry, and when the state of the schools and churches is such as to secure to society the religious instruction which it needs, and to the young the means of education, the fortunes of Liberia may be safely left to the ordinary laws on which the growth of communities depends. If any foreign aid should be needed, the recent action of not less than five or six Legislatures of different States shows that it will be easily obtained.

Dr. P. seems to think that Government will not have to pay all the expenses of emigration, but that the blacks themselves will pay a part. This remark can have no reference to the *slaves*, because a slave "can do nothing, possess nothing, nor acquire anything, but what must belong to his master" (Civil Code of Louisiana, art. 35). Of course the slaves, though freed, can pay *no* part of the expense of their transportation, and the Government, either State or National, *must* pay six-sevenths of all the cost attending the removal of the black population.

In relation to the present free blacks, the case *may* be a *little* different. The very lowest sum that it will cost to settle the free blacks in Africa is $42,863,700. Dr. P. says, the free blacks "will *easily* find the means to pay the expenses of emigration." Will they so *easily* raise forty-two millions of dollars? There are about 224,000 free blacks at the South, who are described as being almost utterly poor. Who imagines for an instant that these could raise among themselves twenty millions of dollars (less than would be required to settle them in Africa), or even one-twentieth of that sum? And admitting that the free blacks at the North would be willing not only to go to Africa, but to beggar themselves, in order to it, who imagines that they *could* so easily raise twenty millions more? Dr. P. says they are not more destitute than the Irish. Perhaps not. But in the course of one year (1848), one house remitted from this country to Ireland some eleven hundred thousand dollars, merely to pay the passage money of emigrants, and, besides this sum, received two hundred thousand dollars more for pre-paid passage money. When Liberians shall be able to remit here such enormous sums as these, and be able to give as immediate and abundant means of subsistence to emigrants as we do, some just comparison can be made between the facilities of Irish and Liberian emigration.

But "commerce," says Dr. P. "opens and makes easy the way, and provides the means and facilities, for emigration." Sometimes it does, and sometimes it does not! Everything depends on its extent. But "the African trade is already an important one, and will be constantly enlarging and increasing in value." Perhaps it will increase, perhaps it will not, materially. Everything depends on contingencies. "If" these African colonies prosper, &c. Dr. P. speaks of the trade as if it really amounted to something important. During the year ending June 30, 1850, the whole amount of tonnage of vessels engaged in the foreign trade, entered, was 4,328,639 tons; and the whole amount cleared was 4,361,002 tons; whilst of vessels engaged in the trade with Liberia, there were entered 993 tons, and cleared 1,039 tons! During the same time, to "Africa generally"*—that is, the West coast—the whole amount entered was 8,915 tons, and whole amount cleared 9,123 tons; so that the trade of Liberia must be about one-ninth of that of Africa generally, or the West coast. During the same period, the whole value of our imports was $178,138,318, whilst our imports from "Africa generally" amounted only to $524,722. From Liberia alone, therefore, we must have imported about $60,000 in value. During the same period, the whole value of our exports was $151,898,720, our exports to "Africa generally" being $759,266; so that our exports to Liberia alone must have amounted to less than $90,000! In other words, our imports from Liberia amounted to about 1-2969 part of our whole imports, and our exports to Liberia did not amount to 1-1687 part of our whole exports! We rather think that this already "important" trade† might be annihilated without our noticing the difference. It is the old story of the fly on the horn of the ox. Nor do we think it very highly probable that this trade will, "within any calculable period," become so enormously increased as to "open and make easy the way, and provide the means and facilities, for the emigration of the present free blacks even, much less of the slaves."

But, suppose the Colonisation scheme was in full operation, and that already it had begun seriously to reduce the number of the slaves. The first effect would be to increase the market value of those left behind, and thereby increase the difficulty of setting them free. As we have seen, the present demand for slave labour is so great that millions of dollars' worth of slaves are, every year, transported to the far South, from the slave-growing States. It is plain that, if this supply is diminished, the price of the article must rise. An advocate of Colonisation, in the *Western* (Ky.) *Luminary*, said, "none are obliged to follow our example; and those who do not, will find the value of their negroes increased by the departure of ours." The next effect of any considerable reduction in the amount of black labour at the South, would be the serious depression and ever-increasing prostration of some of the most important material interests of the country, which could not fail to react tremendously against any farther emancipations of slaves for purposes of colonisation.

The total value of our exports of domestic produce for the year ending June 30, 1850, was $136,916,912. Of this sum, the cotton was valued at $71,984,616, tobacco at $9,951,023, and rice at $2,631,557—making the value of these articles of slave production $84,567,196. In other words, the labour of slaves produced about two-thirds of all our exports of domestic produce. The total value of our exports of domestic produce for the year ending June 30, 1851, was $178,546,555. Of this sum, the cotton was valued at $112,315,317, the tobacco at $9,255,189, and the rice at $2,171,640, making the value of these articles of slave production $123,742,146, or more than two-thirds the whole value of our exports of domestic produce! The carrying of such enormous amounts of produce gives employment to Northern shipping and Northern men. In the manufacture of cotton goods alone, the amount of Northern capital invested is $74,501,031! There are 1,094 factories, in operation, employing 92,286 operatives, whose yearly wages amount to $14,286,304, consuming, every year, raw material to the value of $34,835,056, and producing goods to the value of $61,869,184.

Now, it is self-evident that the reduction by colonisation of the number of slaves, one-half, would cause an immense reduction in the amount of slave productions, and could not fail to very seriously depress those great material interests of the country directly, and all others indirectly; and if the reduction was continued, every succeeding year would add more and more to this prostration; and the reaction against emancipation, and difficulties in the way of it, would increase immensely with every year of successful colonisation.

Perhaps Dr. P. may say, that the places of the colonised blacks would be filled by white labourers. But even he admits that the climate of the Isthmus, though favourable to the blacks as labourers, is "*fatal* to the whites" (p. 16); and what he says of the Isthmus, others have said of the South generally. In the Convention of the State of South Carolina which adopted the Federal Constitution, Gen. Chas. C. Pinckney said, "I am of the same opinion now that I was two years ago, when I used the expressions that the gentleman has quoted, that while there remained one acre of swamp land uncleared, of South Carolina, I would raise my voice against restricting the importation of negroes. I am thoroughly convinced as that gentleman is *that the nature of our climate*, and the flat swampy situation of our country, *obliges us to cultivate our land with negroes, and that without them South Carolina would soon be a desert waste.*" A singular way it surely is to aid emancipation by coupling it with a scheme which, if successful, must convert the South into a desert waste, and must produce this disastrous result in proportion to its success!

Though the remark of Gen. Pinckney cannot be deemed applicable to the whole South, yet, even if white labourers could adapt themselves to the climate of the South, by a long and severe process of acclimation, no doubt much severer than that which now cuts off twenty-five per cent. of the slaves exported from Virginia, what probability is there that free white labourers would consent to work by the side of slaves? None whatever! Until the slaves were almost wholly removed, you could not get white labourers to go South, so much does the existence of Slavery degrade all kinds of manual labour. Mr. Bigelow says, such has been the extent of this degradation, that even in Jamaica, where Slavery no longer exists, the planters, "as a class, would sooner beg than hold the plough or ply the hoe. Of course one never sees a white labourer on their estates, and the coloured people have no competition for wages, except with persons of their own complexion" (Jamaica in 1850, p. 75). In Western Virginia, where, as we have seen, the number of slaves is quite small in comparison with the white population, this degradation of labour is just as marked as elsewhere. The Rev. Dr. Henry Ruffner, President of Lexington College, Lexington, Va., in his address to the people of West Virginia (1847), though a slaveholder, says, "even the common mechanical trades do not flourish in a slave State. Some mechanical operations must, indeed, be performed in every civilised country; but *the general rule in the South is to import from abroad every fabricated thing that can be carried in ships*, such as household furniture, boats, boards, laths, carts, ploughs, axes, and axehelves, besides innumerable other things, which free communities are accustomed to make for themselves. *What is most wonderful is, that the forests and iron mines of the South supply, in great part, the materials out of which these things are made.* The Northern freemen come with their ships, carry home the timber and pig iron, work them up, supply their own wants with a part, and then sell the rest, at a good profit, in the Southern markets. Now, although mechanics, by setting up their shops in the South, could save all these freights and profits, yet so it is, *that Northern mechanics will not settle in the South*, and the Southern mechanics are undersold by their Northern competitors. * * This can be attributed only to Slavery, which paralyses our energies, disperses our population, and keeps us few and poor, in spite of the bountiful gifts of nature with which a benign Providence has endowed our country." Until, therefore, the slave population has been almost wholly removed from a State, so that it has really become a *free* State, there is not the slightest reason to expect the influx of free white labourers. In other words, white labourers cannot be introduced into South Carolina, in numbers sufficient for the production of its present crops, until that State has, as Gen. Pinckney said, *first* become a desert waste!

We have proved, therefore, that the Colonisation scheme, so far from co-operating with, and aiding, the cause of emancipation, immensely increases the difficulties in the way of freedom—so immensely as virtually to annihilate all hope of peaceful removal of Slavery. If it is so difficult a task to induce the slaveholders to give up several hundred millions of property, it is hopeless to expect them to do this, *and* throw away several hundred millions more, especially as every dollar they thus spend only serves to diminish their means of paying, and almost utter ruin stares them in the face as the only success possible.

But we have other objections to Colonisation, more important, we think, than any connected with the merely material interests of the country. The scheme is based upon a most cruel and heartless prejudice towards the blacks. Dr. P. says:

> For the blacks, bond and free, colonisation is so desirable, that without it, the gift of freedom would be robbed of half its privilege. Sure we are, that if those now free, or hereafter to be made free, should, as the condition under which liberty was to be enjoyed, be required not to leave the country, it would be deemed, by the best friends of the coloured race, a wrong and an injury second only to absolute bondage. Our legislatures would be thronged with petitioners, and the air would be fevered with the indignant eloquence of those demanding, for the black, permission to emigrate to some land where he might seek his fortune under more propitious omens. And with good reason. At the South, the condition of the negro, even when set free, is always a degraded one, and at the North, scarcely less so; nor is there any prospect of any material change in his condition for the better. We certainly do not defend, or apologize for, this state of things; but it exists, and none are more conscious of it than the blacks themselves. Without dwelling on the causes of it, every intelligent black feels that, in this country, he can never be more than half a man. We honour those who strive to rise above this depressing lot, and our deepest sympathies go with them in their struggles against what seems to be an inevitable doom. But, practically, it is a struggle without hope. The black man withers under the shadow of the white. It proceeds in part, as we cannot help thinking, from some undefined difference of race. But whether so or not, the circumstance that the two races have stood together in the relation of master and slave has modified all their estimates of each other, and after the black is protected in every right by law, the influence of this fact, as subtle as it is powerful, still keeps him in bondage. In Africa, surrounded by those of his own colour, taken out of that charmed circle within which, though nominally free, he is still a slave, he becomes really emancipated. He assumes the responsibilities, undertakes the enterprises, and relies on that self-guidance and support, which develop the higher faculties and qualities of the man. He becomes altogether a different being. If Liberia grows up into a settled, self-sustaining commonwealth, her people will associate on equal terms with those of equal culture in every part of the world.

In other words, Dr. P. says that the blacks in the free States, though "nominally free," are still slaves—that they are scarcely less degraded than the free blacks in the slave States, and that there is no prospect of any material change in their condition for the better, so long as they remain here. In Colonisation, he says, is to be found their *only* hope—the *only* remedy for their otherwise *hopeless* degradation.

But it is evident that this justification of Colonisation is not to be placed in the *fact*, but in the cause, of this degradation. If the cause is permanent, the degradation must be hopeless, and the justification may have some weight. If, however, the cause is a temporary one, the degradation is *not* hopeless, and the justification fails of support. To what, then, is this degradation of the free blacks owing?

"It proceeds, in part, as we cannot help thinking, from some undefined difference of race," says Dr. P. who would not be considered as defending or apologising for this degradation. And yet, if God makes each man of the African race, and another of the Saxon race, any result which proceeds even in part from this difference, must to this extent be a good and wise result. Dr. P. then *does* defend, as partly *divine*, our degrading estimate of the blacks. But what has God to do in producing this deplorable state of things, and that it does not proceed even in part from this difference of race, is evident, from the fact that, in Europe, the black man does now "associate on equal terms with those of equal culture." "Frederick Douglass had ready admission to the best English society." Black representatives sat in the late French Assembly. Doubtless a difference exists between the Saxon and African races; and future ages will condemn us for enslaving a race pre-eminent, among all the dwellers on the face of the earth, for those gentle and loving qualities which Christianity esteems the brightest ornaments of a human soul. But if this degradation grows even in part out of difference in race, it is perfectly absurd for Dr. P. to say that "if Liberia grows up into a settled, self-sustaining commonwealth, her people will *associate on equal terms with those* of equal culture *in every part of the world.*" Will they be any less negroes even then? If we cannot endure the presence at our tea-table of Frederick Douglass, the self-sustaining citizen of Rochester, shall we be any more able to endure the presence of Frederick Douglass the self-sustaining citizen of Monrovia or Cape Palmas?

Still, Dr. P. says, "the circumstance that the two races have stood together in the relation of master and slave has modified all their estimates of each other; and after the black is protected in every right by law, the influence of this fact, as subtle as it is powerful, still keeps him in bondage." But this is repudiating the idea of *hopeless* degradation; for if this disastrous influence has been thus owing to the existence of Slavery, it cannot fail gradually to wear out after the abolition of Slavery. The Protestant Episcopal Church of America, which claims to be the Church of the living God, not only refuses to receive into its conventions, coloured clergymen whom it has itself ordained ministers of Christ, but also refuses to receive white ministers, simply because they are engaged in teaching black men the way of salvation! As if the quality of a man's soul was to be judged of by the colour of his skin! As if they are pre-eminently the servants of Christ who preach the gospel to the degraded and oppressed! How different this action from that of the Church of Rome! "Hundreds of the Roman Catholic clergy are black and coloured men, who minister to congregations made up indiscriminately of blacks and whites"! To what is the difference in the action in the black man, which renders him repugnant to the whites? No! because the black is no less a black man in Rome than he is in Philadelphia or New York. It is simply the result of a prejudice growing out of the existence of Slavery, and the relations of the Protestant Church to that institution. It is a mere prejudice, and nothing else, that prevents the blacks in this country from associating with whites of equal culture. There is no reason under Heaven but this, why such a man as Douglass should not be received with as much delight and honour by the most cultivated circles here as in England. Abolish Slavery, and this cruel prejudice which springs from it can be, and will be, in time, overcome. The degradation of the free blacks is *not*, therefore, a hopeless one. It can, and ought to be, and will be removed. And, Dr. P.'s justification of colonisation, on the ground of the hopeless character of this prejudice, signally fails.

We do not believe in the accuracy of Dr. P.'s statement in relation to the degradation of the free blacks at the North. On the contrary, we believe they have made as much progress as we had any right to expect. He says they are scarcely less degraded than those at the South. The following testimony will suffice to show how the free blacks at the South are considered. "Of all the descriptions of our population, and of either portion of the African race, the free people of colour are by far, as a class, the *most corrupt, depraved, and abandoned.* * * They have no home, no country, no kindred, no friends. They are lazy and indolent, because they have no motives to prompt them to be industrious. They are in general destitute of principle, because they have nothing to stimulate them to honourable and praiseworthy conduct" (African Repository Vol. 6, p. 12-228). "The existence, within the very bosom of our country, of an anomalous race of beings, *the most debased on earth*, who neither enjoy the blessings of freedom, nor are yet in the bonds of Slavery, is a great national evil, which every friend of his country most deeply deplores" (idem. vol. 7, p. 230). "The class we first seek to remove are neither freemen nor slaves; but between both, and more miserable than either." * * "Leaving Slavery and its subjects for the moment entirely out of view, there are in the United States 235,000 blacks denominated free, but whose freedom confers on them, we might say, no privilege but the privilege of being *more vicious and miserable than slaves can be*" (App. Seventh An. Rep. Am. Col. Society). "Of all classes of our population, the most vicious is that of the free coloured. It is the inevitable result of their moral, political, and civil degradation. Contaminated themselves, they extend their vices to all around them, to the slaves and to the whites" (Tenth An. Rep.).

Does Dr. P. really believe that the free blacks of Massachusetts are scarcely less degraded than the same class at the South which is thus terribly depraved? Is there, then, scarcely any difference created by making it a penal offence in the one case to teach a free negro even the letters of the alphabet, and, in the other, educating at the public charge blacks as well as whites, and, except in the city of Boston, in the same schools? Where at the South will you find such men as Douglass, Purvis, Ward, Pennington, McCune Smith, Morris, and a host of others you will find among the free blacks of the North? Does Dr. P. really believe that there are not a thousand whites at the North to one at the South who would be willing to receive these men as honoured guests under their roofs? It is, alas, too true, that we fall far, very far, short of what Christianity demands, in our treatment of the free blacks. But it is a very great mistake to assert that their condition is scarcely less degraded than that of the free blacks at the South; and a still more fatal error to assert that there is no prospect of any material change for the better even before Slavery shall be abolished.

But the "black man withers under the shadow of the white." The free blacks of the City and County of Philadelphia have just presented a remonstrance against the passage of the laws now before the Legislature of Pennsylvania designed to oppress them. They say:

> There are among us 120 Mutual Beneficial Societies, consisting of about 6,500 members, who expend annually for their sick and burying their dead $22,000
> [Twenty years ago they expended only $8000.—Garrison: Pamp. p. 180.]
> The amount of property in the city and dist's. 800,000
> Public Property - - - - - - 148,000
> Amount of House Rent paid - - - - 239,000
> Water Rents - - - - - - - 2,000
> Volumes in Private Libraries - - - - 20,000
> do Public do - - - - 600
> Debating Societies - - - - - - 3
> Average number of coloured prisoners sent to the County Prison, from 1835 to 1840, 121; from 1840 to 1845, 94 4; from 1845 to 1848, 79-67.
> Average number of the Coloured Prisoners sent to the Penitentiary, from 1835 to 1840, 64-2; from 1840 to 1845, 41-8; from 1845 to 1848, 31.
> Average number sent to both prisons for the first five years, 185-2; for the second five years, 135-2; for the third five years, 110-67.
> These are the entire number of people of colour sentenced to hard labour in the prisons, and the rapid and steady decrease is certainly remarkable.

The following extract is taken from the able address issued by the convention of the free blacks of New York, recently held in Albany.

> The cities of New York, Brooklyn and Williamsburg contain more than the third of the entire coloured population of the State. A hurried investigation, in which many instances have been overlooked, and all the estimates rendered low, shows that coloured persons have invested in business carried on by themselves—
> In New York City - - - - - $755,000
> In the city of Brooklyn - - - - 76,200
> In the city of Williamsburg - - - 4,900
> Total - - - - - - $839,200
> And that, apart from business, coloured persons hold real estate, deducting incumbrances:
> In the city of New York - - - $733,000
> In the city of Brooklyn - - - 276,000
> In the city of Williamsburg - - - 151,000
> Total - - - - - - $1,160,000
> And these sums are distributed among a large number of individuals, engaged in business or holding real estate, no account being taken of personal property.
> Twenty years ago, the same class held in these cities:
> Real estate - - - - - - $350,000
> Business investment - - - - 511,000
> Total - - - - - - $861,000
> That is to say, while this population has increased twenty-five per cent., its wealth has increased one hundred per cent.

And this it is to struggle without hope! This is the way in which the black man withers under the shadow of the white!

As to the condition of the masses of our population in these cities, we adduce the respectable authority of the *New York Tribune* for the statement, that coloured beggars are extremely scarce in New York, except such as come from "the South, asking money wherewith to buy their own muscles, blood and bones."

By the second annual report of the governors of [illegible] appears that there was expended by them during that year—

> For the poor generally - - - $606,642 60
> For the coloured poor, to wit:
> The Coloured Home - - - - $7,664 58
> Coloured Orphan Asylum - - - 2,607 13
> Total - - - - - - $10,271 31

The Coloured Home and Orphan Asylum contain all the coloured poor dependant on public support, with a very few exceptions. From the above, it seems that one-fiftieth of the amount expended has been for the coloured poor. In New York city, the coloured population to the white, fairly estimated, is as one to 25; hence the coloured population of that city are 27 per cent. less burdensome than is the white population, to the poor fund. And this happy state of things had arisen, in part, from the fact that the former class have mutual benefit societies, with a cash capital of 30,000, from which they take care of their sick and bury their dead.

It is further proof of the improved condition of the coloured population, in the city of New York, that the proportion of deaths among them decreased, gradually, from 1 in 22 in 1821 to 1 in 41 in 1845, which latter has been about the proportion since the last date; and statists agree that the mortality of a people is always a fair measurer of their comforts.

The sending of children to school is a fair test of the intelligence of a people. During the year 1850, there were 3,393 coloured children in attendance in common schools, in New York city, which is nearly the same proportion as there were white children attending the same class of schools.

Facts, therefore, demonstrate the incorrectness of Dr. P.'s theory, that there is no prospect of any material change for the better in the condition of our free black population, for the experience of the last quarter of a century shows that their condition has materially improved. In order to raise them to their highest level, it is not only unnecessary to send them to Liberia, but it is the height of folly to send those whom we wish to elevate, morally and intellectually, from a country abounding with every means calculated to attain these ends, to a country possessing in comparison none whatever! Even with our crushing prejudices, the opportunities for the improvement of the free blacks are vastly greater here than they are, or, for centuries to come, can possibly be in Liberia.

Dr. P. says:

> In urging these schemes of colonisation, the common objection made to them is, that they are unrighteous and cruel. We do not acquiesce in the justice of this charge. There is certainly no want of humanity in the purposes of those most active in promoting colonisation. As a matter of fact, the blacks in this country occupy an unhappy social position. There is not only no prospect of great improvement, but those who declaim most loudly against the wrong done the negro race, are as little ready as any to take the only step—amalgamation—which, by blending the races together, can ever afford anything like an effectual remedy. The most zealous Abolitionists would hesitate long before encouraging intermarriage between their children and those of the blacks. We believe that, in this respect, their instincts are better than their reasonings. We do not believe that amalgamation is desirable for either race. We believe that the difference of races which Providence established, it is well to maintain. But whether so or not, there is no probability of complete amalgamation; while without it, the circumstances which now depress the free black will continue to depress him. In defending colonisation, we are not excusing prejudice or injustice. We simply recognise facts which we have not power to change, and which, if ever removed, are more likely than in any other way, to be so by its being shown on the part of the blacks, that they are capable of supporting a civilized government of their own. Under these circumstances, we think it the part of humanity to aid them in placing themselves where their situation is likely to be more favourable for all their true interests, than they can hope it to be in this country.

We have just seen that the "unhappy social position" of the free blacks does *not* rest on any cause more permanent than our own cruelty—that it has no existence whatever in other communities where Slavery has not existed—that it is rapidly giving way in the British West Indies, where Slavery has so recently been abolished, and that so far from there being "no prospect of great improvement" even here in the condition of the free blacks, their condition has very greatly improved during the last twenty years. It is therefore somewhat ridiculous to talk of amalgamation as the *only* remedy for this degradation. As we do not degrade the blacks because they are blacks, but because their race has been enslaved, and we are in consequence prejudiced against them, the degradation is not to be cured by any mere bleaching of the skin. But Dr. P. would have us believe that the difficulty is only skin deep—for he thinks their degradation will fade away as the blacks gradually change to brown and from brown to white! And this gradual dying out of the pure jet black that God intended is such a dreadful idea! Dr. P. thinks "that the difference of races which Providence established it is well to maintain." Indeed! How then does it happen that the same Providence has not only always permitted the different races of men to have intercourse, but has made the most widely extended intercourse possible the very condition of progress in everything good? Does God forbid Saxons and Celts to intermarry? The whole idea is ridiculous! The instincts of the Southerners, the very same kind of instincts which Dr. P. thinks so much better than our reasonings, have demonstrated, beyond all cavil, that "complete amalgamation" is not only highly probable, but absolutely certain, at the South. Even now the black slaves are few in number in comparison with those whose skins have been thus shaded off to that standard, which alone, Dr. P. considers consistent with their elevation to social equality.

Dr. P. says:

> When an Irishman from Cork or Connaught first lands here, just dug out of his bog, the mud of his cabin still thick and hard upon him, stultified, cowed down, not more ignorant than dull, and bearing all the marks of stupidity in his face, he is of necessity treated as if he were what he is, scarcely more than an unreasoning animal (Ib. p. 12-13).

Must we marry the Irish mud-digger to our daughters, or encourage the intermarriage of his and our children, before we can raise him to an equality with ourselves? The idea is preposterous. No one would ridicule the idea more than Dr. P.—for his remedy for the degradation of the Celt is this:

> "A few years pass. He receives kindness, and learns to put confidence in the good purposes of those around him. The desire of improvement is awakened, the elements of manhood are quickened, his manner becomes more free, and his features light up with dawning intelligence. He is a changed and improved man, and involuntarily the treatment which he receives undergoes a corresponding change. He may nominally hold the same place, but while the name is unaltered, his social position, in essential respects, is altogether different" (Ib. p. 13.). Dr. P. adds, "So with the slaves;" and we add, "*So* with the free blacks. In proportion as we treat them as men, we shall find them *to be* men; but so long as we continue to treat them as brutes, we must not be surprised if we see in them the [illegible] tion of our own cruelty and brutality.

We *do* consider that scheme as both unrighteous and cruel which is based upon an unrighteous and cruel prejudice. And such we call a prejudice which leads us to treat men oppressively or not according to the shading of their skins, which impels us to raise up the pure white to an equality with ourselves, and to crush the spirit of the black until his manliness almost deserts him. We do consider that scheme as both unrighteous and cruel which cannot support itself except by attempting to favour the utterly hopeless character of this prejudice—by attempting to trace it to a decree of that Being who made of *one* blood *all* the nations of men.

Dr. P. says:

> The rhetorical statement, that colonisation is a scheme by which the black is to be expelled from his native country, does not greatly affect us. It is not a new thing in the world for men to remove to distant lands for the purpose of improving their condition, and there is very little cruelty in aiding them so to do. It is to be remembered that, so far as the free blacks are concerned, they are not asked to emigrate except in accordance with their own choice: and as to the slaves, if liberty be a boon of any value, they can scarcely be thought to do them an injury, who besides setting them free, establish them, without expense on their part, in a free commonwealth of their own colour and race. At this moment, constrained by the pressure of infelicitous circumstances, or to improve their fortunes, hundreds of thousands of Europeans are annually driven, or impelled to leave, their own country for America. Under the circumstances, we do not think them unwise in seeking a home on our shores, or that the destitute among their number are injured or wronged by those friends who encourage and aid them to embark. If there is cruelty, it is on the part of those German governments which endeavour by hard restrictions and needless obstacles, to prevent their subjects from leaving. Among us, they are doing the same poor work, who, by appealing to the prejudices, the jealousies, and the fears of the blacks, are hindering them from seeking a home where, under better auspices, they and their children may be really free.

If the expulsion of the blacks from their native country "does not greatly effect" Dr. P., we can only say, *he* has most cause to regret the fact. But it was hardly necessary for him to make the remark. No man who thinks, as he does, that Slavery has been a blessing rather than a curse to the blacks, would be very likely to be affected by such a mere figure of rhetoric, as tearing away from their native land, from the graves of their fathers, mothers and children, and from all the associations of home, an entire nation of men, and placing them on a sickly coast, 3000 miles off, almost entirely uncultivated, where there is only a mere handful of emigrants, surrounded, as he says, by hundreds of thousands of savages, of the most degraded kind! Does he not know that of the thousands of miserable beings who are every year driven from the Northern slave States to the South, one-fourth part die in the process of acclimation? And ought it not, then, "*very* greatly" to affect the heart of every humane man, to think of the *enormous* sacrifice of life which cannot fail to follow any large emigration to Liberia, however carefully conducted? The free blacks are but little, if any, better able to endure such sudden change than the whites with whom they have hitherto lived. Of the 8,636 emigrants who have been transported to Africa, only "about six to seven thousand" survive (35 Ann. Rep. Am. Col. Soc. p. 10). That is, the climate has been so pestilential, as not only to prevent all increase from natural causes, but actually to lessen about 25 per cent. the original number of emigrants.

There is very little cruelty in aiding men to *improve* their condition, but the opportunities offered for the improvement of the blacks are vastly greater here, even in their present degraded state, than they can possibly be in Liberia for a century. There *is* however, a great deal of cruelty in the endeavour now making, in several of the States, to constrain the departure of the blacks "by the pressure of in-

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* The head "Africa generally," in the tables of exports and imports given in the American Almanac, means the same as "the West coast of Africa" or "Western Africa" in the tables given in the Report to the Secretary of State, before alluded to (p. 114), and those given in the 34th Ann. Rep. of Am. Col. Society, p. 82.

† The character of our trade to the West coast of Africa is peculiarly interesting. Taking the time from 1844 to 1849 inclusive, we find (34th Ann. Rep. of Am. Col. Soc. p. 81) that out of $708,971, the average yearly value of all our exports, $312,045 is made up of gunpowder, tobacco and spirits! This almost equals the "assorted cargoes" which they used to send to the Sandwich Islands, of "missionaries, rum and idols"! Who can doubt of the redemption of Africa?

felicitous circumstances." Dr. P. has nothing to say in condemnation of this base and cruel act, but he *does* think that those who hinder his darling scheme are doing a "poor work"; as if, because we cannot recognise the justness of the comparison between the advantages of moving into a highly civilized country of 20,000,000, and moving out of it, into what, with all his imaginative description, is nothing but a feeble colony, just emerging from the depths of barbarism; therefore, we are appealing to nothing but "the prejudices, the jealousies and the fears of the blacks."

It remains only to speak of the benefit to Africa which, it is said, will result from the success of Liberia. This, Dr. P. considers "a great incidental recommendation of this scheme of colonisation," "that it furnishes, probably, the most efficient means for the regeneration of Africa."

The regeneration of Africa is a very good thing, and desirable for many reasons, but the regeneration of America would be a great deal better and more desirable. We are willing to labour for both objects so far as they approve themselves, and by methods which do not conflict, but the latter work is nearest to our heart, and which must claim the greater share of our attention.

But does the colonisation scheme thus afford "the most efficient means for the regeneration of Africa"? "Throughout the modern world," says Dr. P., "the labours of missionaries have been paralyzed from the want of teachers of the same race with those taught. It is found next to impossible for an alien race to make any impression on the ignorant and prejudiced mass of heathenism. At all the principal missionary stations, the first step is to establish schools, in which the young may, from childhood, grow up into the ideas, the tastes, and the habits which characterize a Christian civilization; and it is on the few, thus taught, that the chief reliance is placed for the diffusion of the Gospel and the arts of culture of civilized life among their brethren.

"That class of persons which missionary societies have endeavoured, with very imperfect success, to create, we have here at our hand, and in numbers beyond the dreams of missionary enthusiasm. Some thousands of men and women, the most ignorant of them accustomed, in an imperfect degree at least, to the ways of thinking, the manners, and the industrial arts of civilization in the midst of which they grew up, and receiving the Christian religion as the supreme rule of faith and practice, are planted in communities strong enough to protect themselves along the Western coast of Africa. Connected with Christendom by all their mental and moral habits, they are connected still more closely with the native African by the powerful and permanent bond of race. The territory subject to their jurisdiction contains a native population which is already beginning to be brought under the influence of their schools and laws. Besides this, the way is opening for commercial intercourse with the whole interior of Africa. Had one, in some summer-day dream, busied himself with imagining the best method for civilizing a continent, he would have probably constructed in his fancy some such scheme as this, which, through the labours of the Colonisation Society, has already become a substantive reality. It was a glorious conception, this of making emancipated slaves the regenerators of the dark land from which their fathers came."

If we really desire to regenerate Africa, redeemers must be sent. Dr. P. contemplates, as we have seen, the removal of slaves just set free, that is, a class of men, whom he himself describes as "half-way between the animal and the man," and whom Dr. Jones declares to be sunk in the lowest depths of immorality. Have they grown up from childhood "into the [illegible] a Christian civilization"? Are they the most efficient instruments of Africa's redemption which we can form? Does any one say, transport the free blacks? One-half of them, those residing at the South, are said to be even yet more immoral and degraded than the slaves. Can we not devise some better plan of improving Africa, than by sending to her shores such specimens of Christian civilization? Many of the free blacks at the North are virtuous and highly cultivated persons. All such as these, if they have the martyr spirit, may do a good work for Africa, though we think they may do a better by staying here. But such men are always few in number; martyr spirits will not be found in such "numbers beyond the dreams of missionary enthusiasm," as Dr. P. supposes. As a class, the free blacks at the North are scarcely less fitted for the work of missionaries than those at the South. If we really desire to regenerate what Dr. P. so happily calls the "*dark* land from which their fathers came," let us educate black men *here*, where the means are at hand in overflowing abundance, and then send them on their work. Such is the course of the Catholic Church, and all may learn lessons of wisdom from her practices. But to send to Africa thousands or millions of persons sunk, almost all of them, in the deepest ignorance, and the most of them extremely vicious, is not only *not* the most efficient means for the regeneration of Africa, but seems most admirably caculated to put the finishing touch to her degradation, by adding the vices of civilized to those of barbarous life.

We have thus examined every reason which has been urged in favour of colonization in Africa. Dr. P. says:

If colonisation be looked to as a means of relieving the United States from the coloured race, or if we regard the welfare of the one hundred and fifty millions of Africa, or the bearing of colonisation upon the general fortunes of Slavery, the coast of Liberia presents by far the most important opening for the establishment of these new commonwealths of freemen.

For these reasons, and because we deem it certain that the slaveholders would not suffer their slaves to be colonised so near us, we make no remarks on the plan of emigration to Jamaica. And we think we have shown that the scheme, so far from favouring emancipation, must be fatal to it—that its main support is a cruel prejudice on our part—that it cannot be carried out without great cruelty on our part—and that if successfully carried out, it would do this country an immense injury, and do Africa little or no good, if not harm.

AN IMPORTANT MEETING OF LADIES.—On Saturday, May 8 (says the *Tribune*), a number of ladies from abroad secured a meeting of ladies of this City, invited from various religious denominations.

At this meeting, the following form of organization was adopted, and a *Board of Managers* appointed to aid in carrying out the plan. A larger meeting is to be held to-day, and further communications will then be made.

THE AMERICAN WOMAN'S EDUCATIONAL ASSOCIATION.

The object of this Association is to secure to American women a liberal education, honourable position and remunerative employ in their *appropriate profession*.

The *profession of women* embraces these distinct departments, viz.: The training of the human mind (teachers), the developement and care of the human body in infancy and sickness (nurses of the sick and nurses of children), and the conservation of the family state (house-keepers and domestic assistants).

The leading measure to be pursued by this Association is the establishment of permanent *endowed* institutions for women, embracing the leading feature of college and professional institutions for the other sex; i. e., they shall be conducted by a *faculty of teachers*, each being the head of a given department, and no one having control over the other. An officer corresponding to that of the president of a college shall be optional with those who control each institution.

The mode of establishing such institutions shall be as follows: An agent of this Association shall make this offer to some large town or city in a section where teachers and schools *are most needed*.

First: That the citizens shall organize a Board of Trustees, in which the various denominations of the place shall be fairly represented; that these Trustees shall provide temporary accomodations and pupils enough to support *four* teachers; that a Primary and a High School department be organized, and that the college plan of a *faculty of teachers* be adopted.

On these conditions, the Association shall furnish the institution with a library and apparatus to the amount of one thousand dollars. The first board of teachers shall be appointed by the Association, with the advice and consent of the Trustees, and thereafter the faculty shall have the nominating and the Trustees the appointing power.

Second: As soon as the teachers have secured public confidence, and proved that they can work harmoniously, the citizens shall erect a building, at an expense of not less than ten thousand dollars, and engage to give gratuitous instruction to twenty-one normal pupils; in return, the Association shall provide an endowment of twenty thousand dollars, the interest of which shall furnish the salary of three superior teachers, each having charge of the three departments set forth above, as constituting the *profession of woman*. They also shall aid in the literary instruction.

These three teachers with the beneficiary, Normal pupils and any others, who may be qualified and wish to enter, shall constitute the *Normal Department*. The four other teachers are to be supported by tuition fees, and the *seven* are to constitute the *Faculty of Teachers*. The Normal pupils shall act as assistants in the Primary and High School Departments, under the direction of the principal teachers.

With each institution shall be connected an organization of ladies, resident in the place of location, who, with the teaches of the Normal Department, shall carry out a system for raising up schools in destitute places, and in securing employ and suitable compensation for all teachers trained in the institution. When the home supply is inadequate, teachers shall be sought from the Board of National Popular Education and other similar associations. All teachers located shall be under the special care of the local association, and the boarding establishment of the Normal Department shall serve as a temporary *home* to them in emergencies demanding it.

Funds contributed for endowment shall be held in trust for this association by gentlemen Trustees, incorporated for the purpose.

The whole control of the business shall be in a Board of Managers, who shall appoint their own agents, officers, Executive Committee, and shall have power to perpetuate and increase itself; but the number from any one religious denomination shall never exceed one-fifth of the whole.

Not less than seven different denominations shall be represented by the Board, and a majority shall be ladies who are or have been practical teachers.

Seven members of the Board and *three* of the Executive Committee shall constitute *a quorum*.

The Board shall meet annually, at such time and place as they may appoint. A meeting may be called at the request of any three members of the Board at any time.

National Anti-Slavery Standard.

*** *All communications for the paper, and letters relating to its pecuniary concerns should be addressed to* SYDNEY HOWARD GAY, *New-York.*

*†† *Donations to the Treasury of the* AMERICAN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY *may be forwarded to* FRANCIS JACKSON, *Treasurer, at Boston; or to* SYDNEY HOWARD GAY, *New-York.*

NEW YORK, THURSDAY, MAY 20, 1852.

Woman's Rights Convention.

To be held in the Horticultural Hall, West Chester, Chester, Co., Pa., on Wednesday and Thursday, the 2d and 3d of June, 1852.

The friends of Justice and Equal Rights are earnestly invited to assemble in Convention, to consider and discuss the present Position of Woman in Society, her Natural Rights and Relative Duties.

The reasons for such a Convention are obvious. With [illegible] tions of the community agree, that Woman, even in this progressive age and country, suffers under legal, educational and *vocational* disabilities which ought to be removed. To examine the nature of these disabilities, to inquire into their extent, and to consider the most feasible and proper mode of removing them, will be the aim of the Convention which it is proposed to hold.

If it shall promote in any degree Freedom of Thought and Action among Women; if it shall assist in opening to them any avenues to honourable and lucrative employment (now unjustly and unwisely closed); if it shall aid in securing to them more thorough Intellectual and Moral Culture; if it shall excite higher aspirations, if it shall advance, by a few steps, just and wise public sentiment, it will not have been held in vain.

The Elevation of Woman is the Elevation of the Human Race. Her interests cannot be promoted or injured without advantage or injury to the whole race. The call for such a Convention is therefore addressed to those who desire the Physical, Intellectual and Moral Improvement of mankind. All persons interested in its objects are respectfully requested to be present at its sessions and participate in its deliberations.

Han. M. Darlington,	Edward Webb,
Phebe Goodwin,	Ann Bassett,
Sarah L. Miller,	Thomas Garrett,
Lucretia Mott,	E. Mortimer Bye,
Mary Grew,	Phebe P. Bye,
Sarah T. Child,	Alice Jackson,
C. Darlington,	William Jackson,
S. Stebbins, M. D.,	J. M. McKim,
Abby Kimber,	Sarah A. McKim,
James Mott,	Joseph A. Dugdale,
John Cox,	Ruth Dugdale,
Hannah Cox,	Mary A. W. Johnson,
Jacob Painter,	Oliver Johnson,
Sallie P. Lewis,	James Painter,
Isaac L. Miller,	A. B. Williamson,
Isaac Mendenhall,	Henrietta Maleir,
Dinah Mendenhall,	Ann Levis,
John Agnew,	Wm. Whitehead,
Lydia Agnew,	Jesse C. Green,
Simon Barnard,	Hannah B. Edwards,
Sarah D. Barnard,	Joshua Hoopes,
Hannah Pennock,	Louisa Cross,
Sidney Peirce,	Sarah A. Entriken,

Jacob Peirce.

EIGHTEENTH ANNIVERSARY

OF THE

AMERICAN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

THE Eighteenth Annual Meeting of the *American Anti-Slavery Society* was held in the City of Rochester, on Tuesday, May 11th, in Corinthian Hall. At 10 1-2 o'clock, the Society was called to order by WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON, its President. He announced the character and objects of the meeting, and said that, in accordance with the custom of the Society, opportunity would now be given for silent or vocal prayer.

Prayer was offered by SAMUEL MAY, Jr.

Selections from Scripture, mainly such as were prophetic of the doom of oppressive nations, and of people who have revolted from the Law of God, were then read by the President.

On motion of O. JOHNSON, of Philadelphia, it was Voted, That a Committee be now nominated by the Chair to report the necessary organization of the Annual Meeting.

The following were nominated accordingly, and were chosen: Oliver Johnson, of Pennsylvania; Samuel May, Jr., of Massachusetts; Joseph Carpenter, of New York; Jas. W. Walker, of Ohio; Isaac Post and Pliny Sexton, of New York.

This Committee subsequently reported that Committees on Business and on Finance be appointed, and four Secretaries *pro tempore* be chosen; and they nominated for these several offices the following persons:

Business Committee—Wendell Phillips, of Boston; Samuel J. May, of Syracuse; Oliver Johnson, of Philadelphia; Francis Jackson, of Boston; Robert Purvis, of Byberry, Pa.; Abby Post, of Rochester; Lydia Mott, of Albany; Joseph Barker, of Millwood, Knox Co., Ohio; Charles L. Remond, of Salem, Mass.; Edmund Jackson, of Boston; Mary Hallowell, of Rochester; Parker Pillsbury, of Concord, N. H.; Charles F. Hovey, of Boston; Henry C. Wright, of Philadelphia; Abigail Bush, of Rochester.

Financial Committee—James W. Walker, of Ohio; Giles B. Stebbins, of Rochester; Abby Kelley Foster, of Mass.; Sallie Holley, of Rochester; Charles S. S. Griffin, of Ohio.

Secretaries pro tem.—Samuel May, Jr., of Leicester, Mass.; Marius R. Robinson, of Salem, Ohio; Wm. C. Nell, of Rochester; Eliza J. Kenny, of Salem, Mass.

The Report was accepted, and the persons named therein were accordingly elected.

A cordial invitation was given by the President to all persons, whether friends or opponents of the Society, to participate in the discussions of the annual meeting.

The President then alluded to the recent death of Isaac T. Hopper, of New York, one of the most active of philanthropists, and one of the earliest and steadiest friends and officers of the American Anti-Slavery Society. He offered the following resolutions, which he sustained in some very appropriate remarks:

1. Resolved, That it is with emotions too profound for utterance that this Society receives the intelligence of the decease of the venerable ISAAC T. HOPPER, on Friday evening last, in the City of New York—the friend of the friendless, boundless in his compassion, exhaustless in his benevolence, untiring in his labours, the most intrepid of philanthropists, who never feared the face of man, nor omitted to bear a faithful testimony against injustice and oppression; the early, steadfast, heroic advocate and protector of the hunted fugitive slave, to whose sleepless vigilance and timely aid, multitudes have been indebted for their deliverance from the Southern house of bondage; in whom were equally blended the gentleness of the lamb with the strength of the lion, the wisdom of the serpent with the harmlessness of the dove, and who, "when the ear heard him, then it blessed him; when the eye saw him, it gave witness to him;" because he delivered the poor that cried, and the fatherless, and him that had none to help him. The blessing of him that was ready to perish came upon him, and he caused the widow's heart to sing for joy; he put on righteousness and it clothed him; his judgment was as a robe and a diadem; he was eyes to the blind, and feet was he to the lame. The cause which he knew not, he searched out; and he brake the jaws of the wicked, and plucked the spoils out of his teeth."

2 Resolved, That a copy of the above resolution be forwarded, in an official form, to the estimable partner of his life and the children of his love, accompanied by an assurance of our deepest sympathy in view of this great bereavement.

OLIVER JOHNSON, of Philadelphia, spoke earnestly in support of the resolutions, reading Maria Child's letter to the *New York Tribune* on Mr. Hopper's death.

Rev. Mr. HARRINGTON, of Palmyra, said that, though not a member of the Society, he desired to express (which he did eloquently) his respect for the character of Isaac T. Hopper, and his satisfaction that this Society had honoured the memory of a good and true man, and in so doing honoured itself.

OLIVER JOHNSON narrated several highly interesting incidents in the life of Isaac T. Hopper, connected especially with the delivery of fugitive slaves.

HENRY C. WRIGHT spoke in support of the resolutions.

[illegible] were then severally adopted.

After some discussion, in which O. Johnson, S. S. Foster, S. May, Jr., W. Phillips, J. Hawkins and P. Pillsbury participated, the following were assigned as stated hours of meeting: 10 A M., 2 1-2 and 7 1-2 P. M.

FRANCIS JACKSON, Treasurer of the Society, presented his Annual Report, showing the total amount of receipts into the treasury of the Society, for the past year, to be $8,488 83; an expenditure of $7,634 54; and a balance in the treasury of $854 29. The Report had been audited and declared correct by Oliver Johnson; and the Society accepted the Report.

Adjourned.

TUESDAY AFTERNOON.—Met in Corinthian Hall, at 2 1-2 o'clock. Francis Jackson, one of the Vice Presidents, in the Chair.

The assembly joined in singing a hymn:

"The memory of the faithful dead
Be on their children's hearts this day."

WILLIAM L. GARRISON, in a clear and cogent speech, explained some of the leading principles and measures of the American Anti-Slavery Society, and concluded on the following resolution reported by the Business Committee:

3. Resolved, That it is not the business of the American Anti-Slavery Society either to build up or destroy any sect or party *as such*, or to patronise or proscribe any man or class of men for their abstract views of theology or political economy on matters foreign from the Anti-Slavery question; but simply to wage an *unceasing war against Slavery;* to denounce slaveholding, under all circumstances, as a sin which should immediately cease, and to expose the blindness and wickedness of all who support this system of iniquity in our land; and that we gladly welcome all (however they may differ in other respects) who will aid faithfully in our great work, rejoicing to hear the true word spoken that the *Slave is a Man*, whether uttered from the lips of Jew or Samaritan.

The discussion of the resolution was continued by George W. Clark, of Rochester; Mr. Pickard; P. Pillsbury; S. S. Foster, of Worcester, Mass.; Joseph Barker; Charles L. Remond, of Mass.; S. J. May, of Syracuse; when, on motion, the Society adjourned to 7 1-2 o'clock.

TUESDAY EVENING.—The Society met according to adjournment, the President in the Chair. The hymn, by Rev. J. Pierpont, was sung, beginning

"Hear'st Thou, O God, these chains
Clanking on Freedom's plains," &c.

The President read to the Society a letter from GERRIT SMITH, Esq., in reply to an invitation to attend this meeting.

After the reading, it was Voted, on motion of Rev. S. J. May, of Syracuse, that the letter of Mr. Smith be published with the proceedings of this meeting. It is as follows:

PETERBORO, May 6, 1852.

WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON—*My Dear Sir:* You tell me, in your letter received this evening, that you will excuse me from answering it. But I will not consent to be excused from answering so generous and beautiful a letter. I will not consent to let a single hour pass without assuring you of my continued and increasing esteem and love for you.

The members of the American Anti-Slavery Society and the members of the Liberty Party do not, all of them, understand each other. They are still, to some extent, jealous of each other; and occasionally they say harsh things of each other. There was some proof of this in the meeting held in Syracuse in January, 1850; and again in the meeting held in Rochester in March last. It is because of this mutual misapprehension that I was somewhat fearful of unpleasant occurrences in the meeting held in Syracuse a year ago. I had some fears (they were not strong) that these Abolitionists of different names might wound each other, and wound the common cause, by ill-natured and unjust remarks. But my fears were not realized. That excellent meeting was characterized by good sense and a tolerant spirit; and good sense and a tolerant spirit will, I trust, be characteristics of the approaching meeting in Rochester.

I ascribe an equal degree of integrity to the American Anti-Slavery Society and to the little handful that is left in the Liberty Party. I recognise but two points of difference between them; and these two points make nothing against the honesty of either party. The American Anti-Slavery Society man will not vote. The Liberty Party man will. The American Anti-Slavery Society man will not swear to support the Constitution. The Liberty Party man will. It is true that the Liberty Party man will vote, whether he shall believe the Constitution to be Anti-Slavery or Pro-Slavery; for he claims that the right to vote is derived from a higher source than the Constitution. But it is not true that he would, in any event, swear to support the Constitution. Whenever he shall be convinced that this instrument does, under a legal interpretation of it, require the upholding of Slavery, he will then, as sternly as the American Anti-Slavery Society man, refuse to swear to support it.

I do not understand that the American Anti-Slavery Society is opposed to Civil Government; and it appears, from your letter before me, that I have misapprehended your individual position on that subject. You will set me right, and I shall thank you for doing so.

The grand point of agreement between the American Anti-Slavery Society and the Liberty Party—and which, in my esteem, makes them substantially one—is their holding in common that a law for Slavery, whether found in or out of the Constitution, is but a nominal law; is not, and cannot be, a real and obligatory law; and is, everywhere and always, to be trampled under foot. Their grand point of agreement, in other words, is, that Slavery is an outlaw—a diabolical, mean, shameless outlaw—and that not only is every man at liberty to treat it as such, but is bound to treat it as such.

The American Anti-Slavery Society and the Liberty Party are agreed that the rules and arrangements of Slavery are as incapable as the rules and arrangements of any other form of piracy to create obligations and to bind the conscience. Would that the Free Soil Party, and the American and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, might no longer delay to come into this agreement with us. The greatest obstacle to the union of all American Abolitionists would then be removed; and, with that union, there would be fresh hope for a speedy and bloodless termination of American Slavery.

I cannot go to Rochester, much as I should love to take you and a hundred other friends there by the hand, and much as I should love to hear Wendell Phillips, who, I am glad to learn from your letter, is to be there. I have seen in the newspapers something to interest me in Joseph Barker. What you say of him increases my desire to know him.

I am much pressed, at this time, with my office and other labours. Moreover, I am preparing to leave home, a week from next Monday, for the sea-shore, with my wife, whose health is uncommonly feeble this Spring.

I suppose that there will be a call in the meeting for contributing to the funds of your Society. Please consider the enclosed draft for $25 as my response to such call.

My wife joins me in affectionate regards for dear Mrs. Garrison and yourself.

Your friend and brother,
GERRIT SMITH.

The following resolutions were reported by the Business Committee:

4. Resolved, That American Slavery tends to strengthen the hands of foreign despots, and to retard the progress and defer the triumph of democracy in all the nations of Europe.

5. Resolved, That the cause of the American slave and the cause of the oppressed and plundered people of Europe are one; and that in labouring for the abolition of American Slavery, we are contributing to the emancipation and elevation of man in every part of the globe.

JOSEPH BARKER, lately of England, where he laboured most abundantly and indefatigably in behalf of the political, social, and religious rights of the people, and who has now established himself in Ohio, was introduced by the President to the audience. He sustained the above resolutions, in a speech of the clearest good sense and soundest argument; and evinced his determination to be a man, a free man, in the United States, as he was in Great Britain. His speech was heard with deep interest and frequent applause.

WENDELL PHILLIPS, of Boston, followed, and occupied the remainder of the evening session in a speech of great power and eloquence. He sought to awaken and confirm in his hearers that manly adherence to Justice and that unyielding loyalty to Right, which shall compel Legislatures and Governments to respect and obey their demands.

Adjourned.

WEDNESDAY.

The forenoon was occupied in an informal discussion amongst the members of the Society and others. But the meeting not being a session of the Society, no record is here made.

AFTERNOON.—The Society met at Corinthian Hall, and were called to order at 3 o'clock by the President.

The Business Committee reported the following resolution:

6. Resolved, That Slavery is a wrong, whose existence for one hour, no circumstance, law, constitution, book, or being in the universe, is competent to make right; and it is our duty to feel, speak, and act towards whatever sanctions it, precisely as we feel, speak and act towards Slavery itself.

It was discussed by H. C. WRIGHT, Rev. Mr. PICKARD, and JOSEPH BARKER.

The following resolutions were also reported:

7. Resolved, That (in the language of John Quincy Adams) "it cannot be denied—the slaveholding lords of the South prescribed, as a condition of their assent to the Constitution, three special provisions to secure the perpetuity of their dominion over their slaves. The first was the immunity, for twenty years, of preserving the African slave trade; the second was the stipulation to surrender fugitive slaves—an engagement positively prohibited by the laws of God, delivered from Sinai; and, thirdly, the exaction, fatal to the principles of popular representation, of a representation for slaves—for articles of merchandise, under the name of persons."

8. Resolved, (also in the language of Mr. Adams), That "To call government thus constituted a democracy, is to insult the understanding of mankind; that it is doubly tainted with the infection of riches and slavery; that its reciprocal operation upon the government of the nation is to establish an artificial majority in the slave representation over that of the free people in the American Congress, and thereby to make the PRESERVATION, PROPAGATION AND PERPETUATION OF SLAVERY THE VITAL AND ANIMATING SPIRIT OF THE NATIONAL GOVERNMENT."

9. Resolved, That the first duty of every friend to the slave is to come out from such a compact, and to refuse every act and every office which binds him to fidelity to such a Constitution, or to take an oath in its support.

WENDELL PHILLIPS made a clear argument in support of the resolutions, frequently answering questions put to him by individuals in the audience. It was further discussed by SAMUEL D. PORTER, of Rochester, H. C. WRIGHT and FREDERICK DOUGLASS.

At 6 o'clock, Mr. Douglass gave way, with a view to a motion for adjournment.

The Chair, in accordance with a vote to that effect, nominated the following persons a Committee to nominate officers of the Society for the year ensuing, and they were chosen, viz.:

Oliver Johnston, of Pennsylvania; Joseph Carpenter, of New York; Samuel May, Jr., of Massachusetts; Parker Pillsbury, of New Hampshire; H. W. Foster, of Rhode Island; Pliny Sexton, of New York; James W. Walker, of Ohio.

Notice was given that an officer was in the city, charged with arresting a person as a fugitive slave. The description of the slave was given. Mr. May of Syracuse, reminded the audience of Daniel Webster's threat, that a fugitive slave should be taken out of Syracuse in the very midst of an Anti-Slavery Convention. Mr. Webster attempted it at Syracuse, as is well known, and failed; and having been disappointed there, he is, perhaps, seeking to try his luck in Rochester. It was moved that a Vigilance Committee be at once organized; but it was replied that one already existed in the city. A deep feeling was manifested; in the midst of which, the Society adjourned to the evening.

EVENING.—The Society re-assembled in Corinthian Hall, and were called to order, at 8 o'clock, by the President.

The several resolutions before the Society were read; and the meeting was successively addressed by CHARLES L. REMOND, WENDELL PHILLIPS, and WM. L. GARRISON. Mr. Remond was very strong in his denunciation of the Fugitive Slave Law, as a law to be trampled under foot at all hazards, and at all times. Mr. Phillips showed how far greater our enterprise is when prosecuted upon moral grounds than when based upon or mixed up with political schemes and parties. We need have no fear. If the public sentiment is right, there will always be lawyers enough, aye and Courts enough, and ministers enough, to express and enforce that sentiment. Let not the people suffer themselves to be made the mere bridge over which self-seeking politicians, in pumps and silk stockings, shall walk into office, then to violate or forget all their promises and pledges. Mr. Garrison commented upon Mr. Phillips' remarks in excuse of the great body of the clergy, as deterred from doing their Anti-Slavery duty through fear of losing their support and that of their families. He thought such defence would not be welcomed by the clergy themselves. They are men who know their duty, and who have been basely forgetful of their brothers in chains, and helpers of their oppressors.

Adjourned to Thursday, 10 A. M.

THURSDAY.

The Society met at the assigned hour; and was called to order by Rev. Samuel J. May, of Syracuse, one of the Vice Presidents.

The hymn was sung—

"What mean ye that ye bruise and bind
My people, saith the Lord."

Prayer was offered by John Rand, of Massachusetts.

A report was submitted, by the chairman of the Committee for nominating officers of the Society for the year ensuing. The report, having been amended in several particulars, was accepted, with one dissenting vote, and officers for the year elected as follows:

For President—WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON.

Vice Presidents—Peter Libbey, Maine; Benjamin Comings, Luther Melendy, New Hampshire; Patten Davis, Vermont; Francis Jackson, Edmund Quincy, William I. Bowditch, Massachusetts; Asa Fairbanks, Rhode Island; James B. Whitcomb, Connecticut; Samuel J. May, Thomas McClintock, Isaac Post, Pliny Sexton, New York; Robert Purvis, Edward M. Davis, Thomas Whitson, Pennsylvania; George Atkinson, New Jersey; Thomas Garrett, Delaware; Thomas [illegible], Joseph Barker, Ohio; Clarkson Puckett, Indiana; Joseph Merritt, Thomas Chandler, Michigan; John Wichell, Illinois; James A. Shedd, Iowa; Caleb Green, Minnesota.

Corresponding Secretary—Sydney Howard Gay.

Recording Secretary—Wendell Phillips.

Treasurer—Francis Jackson.

Managers—Newell A. Foster, Ruth Merrill, Maine; Parker Pillsbury, Amos Wood, William P. Tilden, New Hampshire; Archibald Gilchrist, Vermont; Andrew Robeson, Amos Farnsworth, Bourne Spooner, James N. Buffum, Charles Lenox Remond, Jefferson Church, Massachusetts; Daniel Mitchell, Elizabeth B. Chace, Rhode Island; George Sharpe, Luther Bartlett, Connecticut; Joseph Post, Lauren Wetmore, Mary Springstead, Giles B. Stebbins, Zenos Brockett, Frederick Douglass, Griffith Cooper, New York; Alfred G. Campbell, Addison Conger, Andrew Evans, Jr., New Jersey; James M. McKim, Elijah F. Pennypacker, William H. Johnson, Edwin Fussell, Oliver Johnson, Pennsylvania; David L. Galbreath, Lydia Irish, Jacob Millisack, Benjamin Bown, Ohio; Mary Ann Swain, Indiana.

Executive Committee—William Lloyd Garrison, Francis Jackson, Edmund Quincy, Maria Weston Chapman, Wendell Phillips, Anne Warren Weston, Sydney Howard Gay, Eliza Lee Follen, James Russell Lowell, Sarah Pugh, Charles F. Hovey, Samuel May, Jr.

ABBY KELLEY FOSTER spoke on the course relied upon by this Society to accomplish the overthrow of Slavery in this country.

FREDERICK DOUGLASS asked leave to say that he had received reliable information that a United States officer was in this city, for the arrest of three persons as fugitive slaves, and was now in the United Commissioner's office engaged in the preparation of the necessary papers. Much feeling was caused by this confirmation of last evenings reports. It was ascertained that all needful steps had been taken to arouse the people, by placards, &c., and to place the intended victims in a place of security.

Mrs. FOSTER continued her remarks, exhorting all present to be ready to make the sacrifice of their lives, and to make it this day, if need be, for the cause of freedom. She declared that no fugitive slave should be taken from Rochester, if throwing her body in the way of the kidnappers, and sacrificing her life, could prevent it. She then resumed the argument in which she was engaged when interrupted, showing that success in our warfare could attend only upon the use of such weapons as are appropriate and available in a moral contest, in a struggle for the predominance of Right over Wrong; and concluded with offering the following resolution:

10. Resolved, That the slave power draws its life-blood entirely from the perverted moral sentiments of the masses, and not from the Constitution and statutes of the government, nor from the creeds and ordinances of the church; and hence the *only* appropriate work of the Abolitionists, is the correction of public sentiment by the faithful preaching of Anti-Slavery truth.

This resolution was farther discussed by Dr. Lindley M. Moore, Rev. Mr. Tenney, of Mass., S. S. Foster, and C. L. Remond, and was then unanimously adopted.

Voted, That the subject of contributions to the Treasury of this Society be assigned for the commencement of the afternoon session.

Voted, That the Business Committee be requested to make it generally known that the Fugitive Law, and the duty of all American citizens in regard to it, will be the subject of this evening's meeting.

Adjourned.

AFTERNOON.—The meeting was called to order, at 1-4 before 3 o'clock, by Samuel J. May.

The subject of funds, and of the operations of the Society for the ensuing year, coming up according to vote, the meeting was addressed by PARKER PILLSBURY, JOSEPH BARKER, MARIUS R. ROBINSON, and WILLIAM C. BLOSS.

The following resolution on the subject, from the Business Committee, was unanimously adopted:

11. Resolved, That, with these millions two hundred thousand slaves yet to be delivered from their horrible thraldom—with an annual increase of eighty thousand new victims, to be driven under the lash—with a public sentiment universally arrayed against the cause of impartial liberty, and therefore yet to be radically changed—with a thousand religious and political presses combined to crush the Anti-Slavery movement—with nearly all the pulpits, churches, and theological institutions in the land virtually pro-slavery in spirit, position and influence—with a Union cemented with blood, formed and perpetuated only by the most criminal concessions to the Southern traffickers in human flesh, within no portion of which can a fugitive slave stand in safety from his pursuers—with freedom of speech, freedom of the press, freedom of locomotion, and personal safety, utterly sacrificed in one half of the Union—the work that remains for the friends and advocates of the slave to perform demands increasing zeal, firmness, pecuniary liberality, and self-sacrifice.

The Business Committee reported the following resolution:

12. Resolved, That of all the combinations of human wickedness, duplicity, and cruelty, that have disgraced the history of mankind, the American Colonisation Society has never been surpassed; an organization that is the enemy of immediate emancipation—that was formed and is controlled by slaveholders—that deprecates any interference with Slavery—that increases the value of slave property, and thus is perpetuating the accursed slave system—that declares the elevation of the free coloured population, in this country, to be impossible, solely on account of their complexion—that impiously maintains that "causes exist and are operating to prevent their improvement here which are fixed, not only beyond the control of the friends of humanity, but of human power—and that this is not the fault of the coloured man, nor of the white man, nor of Christianity, but an ordination of Providence, and no more to be changed than the laws of Nature"!!!

This resolution was ably advocated by ROBERT PURVIS, of Philadelphia. As Mr. P. had alluded to the recent course of F. DOUGLASS on colonisation, Mr. D. replied to Mr. Purvis, denying *in toto*, and with much warmth, that he had ever been, or was now, any other than a foe to the colonisation scheme. Mr. Douglass also attacked C. L. Remond in a spirit of the bitterest personality, charging him with the most dishonourable motives for the course he (Mr. R.) had pursued towards him during these meetings. Mr. Remond replied with great severity, and caused it to appear that an exceedingly unjust statement had been made concerning him by Mr. Douglass. The discussion was most unpleasantly personal; yet it seemed impossible to check it without giving one party or the other reason to complain of partiality.

The President reminded the audience that this affair was wholly personal, and connected in no way with the Society. He hoped that the disputants, and all present, would bear in mind their duties to their enslaved and suffering brethren, and not consent that matters of personal difference should engross them, and lead them astray.

The resolution on the Colonisation Society was adopted; and the Society adjourned to the evening meeting.

EVENING.—The Society met, as before, in Corinthian Hall; Robert Purvis being in the chair.

The song was sung,

"Come all who claim the freeman's name."

The Business Committee reported the following resolutions:

13. Resolved, That here, so near the residence of that man whose eternal infamy it will be that his signature, as President of the United States, stands affixed to the Fugitive Slave Bill, we denounce that law, as the most cruel and monstrous legislation that has for centuries disgraced the statute-book of any nation.

14. Resolved, That we do not stop to ask whether this law is constitutional or unconstitutional—essential or not to the preservation of the Union; enough for us that it is the cruel mockery of all justice, inhuman, anti-christian, diabolical; and, trampling it under our feet, for ourselves we declare that, as far as in us lies, it never shall be executed.

15. Resolved, That we tell the knaves who, for political ends, have placed this law on the statute-book, and who have, during the present session of Congress, declared the question settled, that we accept the statement; it is settled—settled that their memories shall rot—settled that the blow which was aimed at liberty is recoiling with deadly force on the system in whose defence it was dealt; and when History shall trace in the Fugitive Slave Bill one of the most efficient causes of the overthrow of Slavery, she will add another to the many proofs that "whom the gods would destroy, they first make mad."

These resolutions were spoken to, first, by Rev. SAMUEL J. MAY, of Syracuse, with the greatest earnestness. He alluded to the rescue of Jerry in Syracuse, and declared it to be an act of which Syracuse was proud and thanked God for; he utterly *defied* the law, execrated it, and proclaimed his unswerving determination to trample it under his feet. His remarks were cheered by the vast assembly, with the greatest enthusiasm.

WENDELL PHILLIPS, of Boston, spoke, as but few can speak, on this question—with calmness, with discrimination, with the most thrilling eloquence. His speech was listened to with the intensest interest, and was greatly applauded.

WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON closed the discussions of the Anniversary with a most effective statement of the methods of abolishing the slave system—deprecating, for our own sakes and for the slave's sake, any nurturing of the spirit of violence and blood.

W. C. BLOSS rose and proposed a vote of thanks to the speakers of the evening for the gratification which their remarks had afforded to the audience. He put the vote himself, and it was carried without dissent.

MARIUS R. ROBINSON offered the following resolution, and it was adopted:

16. Resolved, That every impulse of humanity and every principle of justice, which requires us to disregard and execrate the Fugitive Slave Law, requires us also, with immeasurably greater force, to dissolve that confederacy with slaveholders and slave-hunters which authorizes and enacts that law.

The following resolution, drawn up by a lady of Rochester, was unanimously adopted:

17. Resolved, That to those living martyrs in the Cause of Freedom buried in the Government Prison at Washington, Drayton and Sayres, we repeat the assurance of our continued remembrance and fervent sympathy, and that we will not cease to "labour and pray" for their deliverance until they gain that *Freedom* which they exerted themselves so nobly to win for others.

SAMUEL MAY, Jr., offered the following resolution:

18. Resolved, That the members of the American Anti-Slavery Society here present, desire to express their warmest thanks to those residents of the city of Rochester who laboured so efficiently to prepare the way for this meeting, and who, by their most cordial and generous hospitality, have done so much to make its labours light and pleasant to those who have come up hither from abroad; and we pray God to strengthen them all for a faithful and life-long warfare upon the accursed system of Slavery in our land.

The PRESIDENT expressed the thanks of the Society to all the people of Rochester, who have, from time to time, attended the sessions of this Anniversary, for their courteous and candid hearing of the views which had been expressed; and passed a deserved encomium upon the liberality of the city in this respect.

On motion of OLIVER JOHNSON, Voted, That the Executive Committee be requested to consider the

propriety of holding the ninth Annual Meeting, provided it be held elsewhere than in the City of New York, a week earlier or a week later than the accustomed time.

The meeting joined in singing—

"From all who dwell below the skies,
Let the Creator's praise arise."

And the Society adjourned, *sine die*.

WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON, *President*.

SAMUEL MAY, JR.,
MARIUS R. ROBINSON,
WILLIAM C. NELL,
ELIZA J. KENNY, } *Secretaries*.

It should be added that CORINTHIAN HALL, in which the meetings were held, is one of the most spacious and beautiful halls in the country, comfortably seating fifteen or sixteen hundred people. It is finely lighted and ventilated, and no pains are spared by the gentlemanly proprietor to ensure the comfort of those who are temporarily its occupants.

FUNERAL OF ISAAC T. HOPPER.

THE funeral of the late Isaac T. Hopper was solemnized, at the Tabernacle, on Wednesday afternoon, the 12th instant, under the direction of the Executive Committee of the Prison Association. That Committee were desirous that this evidence of their veneration for the life and character of a man eminent for his philanthropy should be given, and his immediate friends consented to so public a ceremonial, partly to gratify the wishes of those who had been connected with his latest efforts in behalf of his fellow-men, and partly because they knew a greater multitude would be desirous of paying this last tribute of reverence to his memory than any private house could contain. There were no funeral trappings, no 'pomp and circumstance' to mark the occasion, other than a multitude of sorrowing and sympathising faces gathered together from all ranks in society, testifying to their sorrow for him in the presence of whose mortal form they stood for the last time. The coffin, which was placed beneath the speaker's desk, was, as he had requested, of the plainest kind, and of unpolished wood No service for the dead was read over him, and no prayer was said, but the service of many tears of sincere sorrow, and the silent prayer of thankfulness from many grateful hearts that his days had been long in the land, and that the bounty of his good deeds had been shed like rain over many suffering and wronged, were the more fitting obsequies that attended him to the grave.

The first address was by Mr. Havens, the President of the Prison Association, and, though official, was not formal nor cold. He bore a strong testimony to the purity, simplicity, and piety of Friend Hopper, recounted some of his good deeds while agent for the Association, and dwelt especially upon his patience with, and influence over, the most abandoned of the convicts who came under his charge. He was followed by Mrs. Mott, whose knowledge of, and intercourse with Friend Hopper dated from her early years. She referred with strong feeling to the labours of his whole life in behalf of the slave, and regretted that the Prison Association, in reading their own resolutions in relation to his character, had not felt it to be within the range of their duty to read also those passed by the American Anti-Slavery Society. She remarked also with great force and beauty upon the fact that this man, whose death a concourse of people had met to commemorate, who was thus honoured by this mark of public grief, whose fervent piety was testified to by all sects and those of most opposite tenets, was a member of no Church, but was one whose faith was exhibited by his works. That he was judged by what he did and not by what he believed, and though the religious body with which for many years he had been connected, had disowned him for his faithfulness in keeping to what he considered to be his path of duty, those of the strictest Orthodox faith did not now hesitate to pronounce him to be a sincere, humble, and upright man and Christian, because his long life of good deeds testified of him.

We took no notes of these addresses, and cannot attempt, therefore, to do more than give the main thought that ran through them. They were followed by a Eulogy, pronounced with great emotion, by Judge Edmonds, who, in a biographical sketch of some length, portrayed the strong points of the remarkable character of his venerable friend, illustrated by some incidents of his life, and closing with a touching relation of its peaceful termination.

On Thursday morning the body of the good man was followed by his family and a few of their nearest friends to its final resting-place in Greenwood Cemetery.

THE PURSUIT OF RELIGION UNDER DIFFICULTIES.

THE pursuit of Knowledge under difficulties is not so common a thing as not still to be considered a very praiseworthy one. The pursuit of Religion under similar circumstances is just so much more to be commended, as eternal things are of more consequence than things temporal. The praise which belongs to one who seeks such salvation as the Church promises to those who are faithful is certainly due the writer of the following communication.

He positively declares that he is a coloured man, and, as we happen to know enough of him to be certain that he would not deceive us, we are bound to believe that he could establish his pedigree in a Court of Justice. Were we to trust to our simple sense of sight, however, we should, on this point, be greatly mislead. But far be it from us to measure our sharpsightedness by the sharpsightedness of the dignitaries of the Christian Church of America!

NEW YORK, April 20, 1852.

MR. EDITOR: It is hard for a coloured man to be pious: "Spects 'cause we 's so wicked," as Topsy says. I would like to be good and go to meeting, but there are serious obstacles in the way. In the first place, I am opposed to coloured churches. They are too much on the principle of Liberia. But as often as I try to keep the Sabbath and attend divine worship anywhere else, I am sure to meet some check which sets me back for a year.

Some years ago, I went to Trinity Church in Boston. The Rev. Dr. Wainwright, of your city, was then the Rector. The Sexton led me to, *literally*, the highest seat in the Synagogue. It was in, or rather *above*, the right hand gallery—on the wall—and separated from the rest of the pews by a broad aisle, allowing a free circulation of air between us and the white portion of the congregation. If I remember correctly, we ascended to it by a flight of steps. The only other occupant of the box was an old woman who had once been a slave in one of the old aristocratic families of Boston. All that I remember seeing or hearing in the church was the organ; and I have a very distinct recollection of the fine view which I had of Mr. Hayter, in his shirt sleeves, as he slid up and down the smooth bench in front of the organ, footing the pedals and fingering the key boards in his usual artistic manner.

About a year afterward, I thought I would try the opposite sect in religion, and so I went to Dr. Lothrop's—Unitarian—in Brattle Square, the church which boasts of a cannon ball still sticking in its walls, and lodged there during the battle of Bunker Hill. As I entered the porch, "Old Beals," the Sexton, gave me a penetrating look, and suggested that I was "full early." The second bells had just begun to ring. However, he directed me up stairs to a cool seat against the wall, labelled, "For Mariners." As this worthy class of men are accustomed to being "aloft," I suppose they feel at home in such a position. But it was too high for me, not being a sailor, and I clambered down and went home before the commencement of the sermon.

This sufficed me for another year, when I again began to feel that my spiritual nature needed cultivation. I determined this time to make a trial of Universalist religion. I therefore went to Father Ballou's, in School Street. There I was again ushered into a "wall pew," and, lest we should not know our place when we were told, it was written in gold letters on the pew door, "Seats for People of Colour." Our white brethren seem to feel the importance of cultivating our musical tastes rather than our religious sentiments, for they always give us the best furthest from the "sacred desk," and nearest the organ. However, in those days, Father Ballou did not boast of an organ, but his choir—close to which we were seated—was accompanied by "clarinet and flute, cackbut and psaltery."

I did not attempt to worship in the sanctuary again till last Thanksgiving Day. The church was in one of the small cities in Massachusetts and contained no "negro pew." I therefore got a respectable seat. Now, what do you suppose was the burden of the preacher's Thanksgiving song? He thanked God for this more than for anything else: that, during the past year, he had said nothing to inflame men's minds; that is, he had said nothing against the Fugitive Slave Law, nothing against Slavery, nothing against wine-drinking—in short, nothing that would in the least disturb the sleek sinners in the cushioned pews before him. Christ declared that He came to bring not peace, but a sword. But this Divine thanked God that *he* hadn't come to do any such thing.

But, Sir, I am forgetting the object of this communication. It was to inform you that, last Sunday, I again went to church; that, being in New York, I went, with a friend, over to Brooklyn, to hear the Rev. Henry Ward Beecher; that as soon as we entered one of the doors of his church, we were shown from one attendant to another till we brought up against a second "Old Beals." He scrutinized us a moment, and then put us, with three other coloured people, in a slip in the corner nearest the outside door—a slip not detached from all the others in the house, but certainly an exclusive one. Other strangers were escorted to eligible seats in the aisle nearest the door where they entered. But the man where my friend and I went in, instead of giving us a seat, directed us to the next door-keeper, who passed us to the next, and so on till we reached the "negro pew." I do not believe that Dr. Beecher approves of this arrangement; indeed, I have no doubt he is ignorant of it. I believe he is a good man, and bravely doing all that conscience bids him. I know no better way of calling his attention to this subject than through the columns of your paper.

ONE.

P. S. May 18th.—I ought to state, as a matter of justice—and it gives me pleasure to do so—that the Rev. Mr. Storrs, without any knowledge of this communication, and without my alluding to the subject, has, since it was written, cordially invited me to take a seat in his pew whenever I might feel disposed to attend his church. The venerable Dr. Evan M. Johnson, of Brooklyn, also ignorant of this communication, and no hint being given on my part, invited me to attend his church, pleasantly assuring me that I should neither be placed under the pulpit nor behind the organ.

ONE.

HORACE PRESTON.

THIS last victim demanded by the Compromises and Union, in this city, has, we are glad to state, returned to his family. The price of redemption demanded by that eminent saint of the Methodist Church, his master, Reese, has, at length, and with an unusual effort, been raised, and on the receipt of the cash in hand the Elder consented that his brother in the bonds of Christ should be released from the bonds of Reese, and return to his wife and child. Mr. Busteed, the counsel, the witness, the owner's agent, and the instrument of the arrest of Preston, has, we understand, been also instrumental in his release. He even went, we hear, to Baltimore to negotiate the purchase, and was, it seems, successful. Men's motives, it is said, are never fit subjects for comment; the act alone being good, we are to suppose the motive to be so also. Mr. Busteed should have the benefit of the rule; but if we should permit ourselves to go behind his act, we might suggest that, having been himself educated as a Methodist Minister, he presumed on the influence which that fact might give him to induce his brother in the Lord, Mr. Reese, to consent to part with his Constitutional title to Preston at a fair market valuation. It may be also that he has a tender conscience in the matter. His constitutional conscience he had put at rest, in catching and 'delivering up' one 'nigger'; now, perhaps, his conscience, as a man merely, and a Christian, asked for a sacrifice. This conscience, we know, makes various demands. We have seen to-day a letter to a gentleman in this city in which the writer declares that having observed in that person's employ a coloured man whom he knew to be a slave, he had acquainted the master with the fact, and offered to return him, and that he had received the authority to do so, with the promise of $50, if the attempt is successful. No doubt his patriotism prompted him thus far, but, he adds, he has a conscience in the matter, and that if the gentleman will give him the $50, the slave, so far as he is concerned, shall be unmolested. It may be that Mr. Busteed carries in his bosom a conscience of this double character, and having satisfied it, on the one hand, by delivering Preston into Slavery, he satisfies it on the other by delivering him out of it.

However, we are glad at any rate that he is returned to his home by any means, and have only this hope to express farther—that he has not been induced by the promise of freedom to bind himself not to prosecute for false imprisonment, any of the parties who were instrumental in his arrest, or that anybody went to Baltimore to secure such a bond from him.

It is evident that there has been more difficulty in raising the means for this purchase than any that has heretofore occurred. This difficulty will increase with every new case. Those who are really opposed to any sort of slave-trading or slave-hunting, will not be satisfied with the redemption of individuals, but will devote themselves, however much they may feel the hardship of individual cares, to a wider field, and to efforts for the millions in bonds. While the larger class of *Journal-of-Commerce-Christians*, who will trade in anything for the sake of trade, will soon give up a commerce which does not pay.

In connection with this subject we quote a recent and pertinent article from the *Mobile Tribune*, which will doubtless have due weight with the class to which we allude:

Whenever a fugitive slave is caught in New York and restored to his master, some of the merchants and others of that city make a great stir, and, by the most piteous appeals, manage to raise money enough to purchase the negro and set him at liberty. Sometimes they do not succeed, but they generally make the attempt.

Now, it strikes us that the moral effect of this sort of business is decidedly bad; and we are certain that it springs from a motive which, down here, is not considered sound or estimable. In the first place, it induces unobserving men to believe that there is great friendship for Southern institutions in New York; and thus they fall asleep in the notion that we have only got to let our Northern brethren manage this affair, and all will be well.

Secondly: The custom prevails nowhere else in the free States; and it is suspected that it obtains in New York simply for a mercantile purpose. If trade can be kept in old channels by a few men occasionally getting together and contributing each ten dollars or so, why it is an investment which is decidedly profitable.

But we contend that it is calculated to increase in the North the odiousness of the Fugitive Slave Law, and thus: Their purchasing of fugitives (some three or four per annum) proceeds on the presumption that both Slavery and the law are evils—but the latter, being a law, may not be evaded, except indirectly, *i. e.*, by paying to the master of the fugitive the price of its evasion and nullification. If the property of a poor man be seized in New York for debt, no subscriptions of this sort are set on foot; and because around him every one recognises the justice of the law by which he is subjected to this penalty. If the popular opinion in New York were in a condition to do in this case what is done in the case of fugitive slaves, that opinion would soon be sufficiently strong to work a change in the laws, and the poor man's property would then be exempted from attachments. The precise effect will occur in the other case. These monied interferences with the law indicate that it is unpopular, and only waits a convenient time to be set aside. The whole business proceeds on deep-seated objections to Slavery and the Law, which, in the case of the latter, are made subservient to policy. A law whose stability rests on this slender foundation can have no durability.

If Slavery cannot be defended on the grounds of its abstract justice, it can have no defence at all worthy of note; and no good man can give it defence. We, therefore, detest these expedients which can only last until power enough shall have been acquired to get along without them.

THE *American and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society* awoke, as in former years, from its year's nap, and opened its eyes and its mouth, on Tuesday afternoon of Anniversary week, at the Tabernacle. Speeches were made by Hon. E. D. Culver and Rev. Henry Ward Beecher, a Report read, and the following Resolutions passed. The fifth of this series, we understand, has caused a good deal of dissatisfaction among coloured people, for its evident squinting towards Colonization. It tallies very well, and perhaps was intended so to do, with the object of the recent mission of Rev. John Scoble, the Secretary of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, to this country:

RESOLUTIONS.

Resolved, That American Slavery developes cumulative evidence of its sinfulness, its hostility to the peace, union, and prosperity of the country, its disastrous influence upon the religion, social order, literature, and renown of the nation; and, therefore, all who uphold or approve it, uphold or approve a system inimical to the welfare of man and hateful in the sight of God.

2. That the continuance of Slavery at this day, in this republic, with the number of slaves augmented from half a million to three millions—when our fathers, in obtaining their own freedom, solemnly declared to the world that "all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness;" and added, with the solemnity of an oath, "for the support of this Declaration, with a firm reliance on the protection of Divine Providence, we mutually pledge to each other our lives, our fortunes and our sacred honour"—is a reproach to the memory of the revolutionary patriots, a mockery of democratic republicanism, and an insult to the Ruler of Nations.

3. That nearly allied to Slavery, in meanness and turpitude, is the spirit of caste, under the influence of which our coloured fellow-citizens are debarred an equality with other citizens before the law, and the opportunity of rising in the community according to their talents, industry, and moral character; a spirit the more reprehensible as we invite to these shores, and admit to all the occupations of society, immigrants of every complexion, condition and religion, from the old world, many of whom possess less Anglo-Saxon blood than do our proscribed fellow-countrymen.

4. That whereas, the Fugitive Slave act is, in the opinion of Chief Justice Hornblower and other eminent jurists, unconstitutional, and, according to the first opinion of Daniel Webster, enacted in opposition to the "plain import" of that instrument—and whereas, it not only authorises seizure without process, trial without a jury, consignment to Southern prison houses upon *ex parte* testimony, without opportunity of defence, but punishes humanity as a crime, and can be enforced only by outraging all the charities of life and the great principles of the common law—it is a "Bill of Abominations," and its authors, advocates, and enforcers, deserve the severest condemnation, while the act itself should be everywhere disobeyed and execrated.

5. That while we would throw no obstacle in the way of our coloured citizens emigrating to Sierra Leone, Liberia, California, the West Indies, Canada, or any other portion of the globe, as their enterprise, business or inclination may lead them, in common with other citizens; and while we will aid them in the accomplishment of their own wishes, we will ever discountenance and oppose all schemes, whether devised by State or National governments or Colonization Societies, of coercive expatriation, and all efforts to place the people of colour in such positions that, as a choice of evils, they will consent to leave the land of their birth and their chosen residence.

6. That we deeply sympathize with our coloured brethren throughout the whole land, bond and free, in the peculiar circumstances of trial in which they are placed by the cupidity, tyranny, and contempt of large portions of the people of this country; and that we solemnly pledge to them our best efforts to vindicate their right, and to redress their wrongs, while we exhort them to place implicit confidence in the promises of Him who has declared that He is no respecter of persons, that He is the God of the oppressed, and that He will break the rod of the oppressor.

7. That, while we honour those legislators and ministers who have been true to freedom, we believe that the political and ecclesiastical partisans who have proved recreant to the cause of liberty and humanity have forfeited all just claim to the confidence of the people, and that no reasonable expectation can be indulged in the prevalence and success of republican or Christian institutions, until our citizens carry out the principles of the Declaration of Independence, and the precepts of the Sermon on the Mount.

8. That we call upon the women of this country for their persuasive influence in the great work of emancipating their sex from the degradation and miseries of Slavery, and for their effective aid in the cause of universal liberty—reminding them that it was Elizabeth Heyrick who demonstrated to Wilberforce the duty and safety of immediate emancipation; and that, in the recent work of Harriett Beecher Stowe we have a portraiture of American Slavery that is read by tens of thousands, causing very many of them to weep, and pray, and resolve, that they will strive, while life shall last, for its overthrow and annihilation.

9. That the example of the humane and disinterested advocates of freedom, among the editorial and literary corps, is a just rebuke to the subservient individuals and societies who have meanly expurgated their own works, or the works of others, of all sentiments denunciatory of Slavery, lest they should be denounced by slaveholders and their apologists.

10. That the thanks of this meeting be given to the friends of the oppressed in Canada for acting the part of good Samaritans toward the unhappy subjects of oppression who have fled to them for refuge, and to the friends of impartial liberty in England, Canada, the West Indies and elsewhere, who have strengthened the hands of American Abolitionists; and that we entreat them, while they deservedly rebuke their own countrymen who, on taking up their abode with us, prove recreant to the Anti-Slavery cause, to be equally faithful to Americans among them who affect to be the friends and advocates of emancipation, while silent or opposed to the cause at home.

11. That for the sake of the slave, for the prosperity of the country and for the good of the Church of Christ, we earnestly desire the union of all Abolitionist, and their harmonious action in behalf of their coloured brethren, believing that the highest obligations rest upon the people of these States to remove Slavery by moral and political action, and being determined, in the fear of God and in sympathy with every friend of humanity who will co-operate with us, so far as the means shall be furnished to enlist the pulpit and the press in the cause of the suffering and the dumb, to aim at a purification of the churches from all participation in the guilt of Slavery, to encourage the labour of freemen rather than that of slaves, by giving a preference to their productions, sparing no exertions to bring the whole nation to speedy repentance—our trust for victory being in God, through whom truth, justice, reason and humanity must and will gloriously triumph.

RIOT AT RICHMOND, VIRGINIA.

THE normal condition of all Slave States is one of suppressed riot, and the only wonder is that it is maintained so well as it is. It breaks out often enough into open rebellion against the law and peace of society, but not half so often as we might reasonably expect, where it being the habit of one class to enslave another, it is the interest of this class to cut the throats of that. The suppressed violence breaks out sometimes in one way, and sometimes another, so that the unfortunate citizen never knows from what quarter to look for danger. The arms which slaveholders keep about them are not merely necessary to protect them from any sudden outbreak on the part of their slaves; the danger is no less imminent that some other class in the community may construe words and deeds meant to be innocent or even humane, as obnoxious to itself, and take accordingly the law into its own hands.

In no other civilized community could such an event occur as has just transpired in Richmond. People are often blood-thirsty, and demand the execution of a criminal; but no where else but in a slave-country would the mob array itself against the constituted authorities because they had commuted the punishment of death, awarded to a boy guilty only of manslaughter, to banishment for life. No stronger evidence could be given of the intense hatred engendered by Slavery against the coloured man, and how violence may produce violence in most unlooked for directions. We copy from a Virginia paper this account of a recent riot in Richmond, directed against the Governor of the State:

Some month or two since, an overseer (Mr. Jackson) in one of the tobacco factories of Richmond, was killed by a negro boy, under the following circumstances: The boy having done some portion of his work in a careless manner, was called up by the overseer to receive a chastisement. The boy begged the overseer to spare him, but deeming the chastisement merited, the overseer persisted in flogging him. After awhile, the boy caught hold of the lash—the overseer ordered him to let go, but he would not, and the overseer gave him a kick. In the passion of the moment, the boy seized an iron poker, lying at his feet, and struck the overseer a blow, which felled him to the ground. The boy then let drop the poker, and ran down the stairs. The overseer, rising instantly, ran in pursuit of him. It was very soon ascertained that the overseer was seriously injured; a surgeon was called in; from an examination it was evident that the skull had been fractured; an operation was performed, but it brought no relief to the patient; and on the second day after the blow was struck, he died. The negro was arrested, tried, and, on proof of the foregoing facts, convicted and sentenced to be hung on the 22d of April. Application was made to Governor Johnson, either to pardon the convict or to commute the sentence of death into some less severe punishment. The Governor declined, but did, however, grant a reprieve of a fortnight's duration. Meanwhile, some seventy five or one hundred of the most eminent and respectable citizens of Richmond laid before the Executive a petition, praying a commutation of the punishment which the boy was condemned to suffer, in consideration of the facts, that the crime of which he was guilty was not murder, but simply manslaughter—that beyond all question he had no intention of taking the life of the overseer, whose death was the result of accident rather than design, and also in consideration of the youth of the convict, he being only seventeen years of age. The Governor was constrained by the urgent appeal of the petition, by the force of its arguments, and the great respectability and influence of the gentlemen who had signed it, to recede from his determination to suffer the sentence of the law to be executed upon the boy, and to commute his punishment into transportation for life. At this announcement of the humane intention of the Executive, excitement raged throughout Richmond. An indignation meeting was called by advertisement in the newspapers, and placards posted along the streets. Here is a copy:

"NOTICE.—This is to notify all good citizens who are willing and at all times ready to stand by the institutions of the South, and especially Virginia laws, to meet at the City Hall to night, at 8 o'clock, for the purpose of holding an indignation meeting against Governor Joe Johnson, for pardoning a negro slave Jordan, for killing young Jackson. Come one, come all, and protect your firesides by putting down all those who uphold murder. MANY CITIZENS.

"May 7, 1852."

In response to this invitation, some fifteen hundred or two thousand persons assembled on the evening of the 7th instant, in the City Hall; a chairman was selected to preside over the deliberations, and a secretary appointed to record the resolves. The Commonwealth's attorney for the city of Richmond opened by remarks denunciatory of the conduct of the Executive.

Mr. William F. Watson, a quiet and peaceful citizen, submitted to the meeting this proposition:

"Resolved, That a committee be appointed, whose duty it shall be to wait upon the Governor, obtain the papers and signatures, &c., which have been presented to him in behalf of commuting the punishment of the convict, and report to an adjourned meeting of the citizens."

This proposition was rejected by an overwhelming majority. George R. Peake, submitted the following resolution:

"Resolved, That Governor Johnston, in commuting the sentence of the slave Jordan Hatcher, convicted of the wilful murder of William P. Jackson, has abated the trust confided to him by the constitution, has outraged the feelings of this community, and has given an encouragement to insubordination and crime, which calls for the indignant reprobation of the people of Virginia."

This resolution was carried by acclamation.

Mid the applause consequent upon the adoption of this resolve, the meeting adjourned.

The *Richmond Whig* of the 11th instant, reports another meeting held in that city the day before, by which it seems that, though the mob were not altogether approved of, it was not possible to obtain any public condemnation of it by the citizens at large. The *Whig* says:

A meeting was held at the City Hall, last evening at 5 o'clock, to take into consideration the mob, and matters thereunto pertaining. General Peyton was called to the chair, and Mr. Robert G. Scott presented a series of resolutions from the Common Council, reprobating any conduct of an insulting character towards the Governor, and declaring it to be the duty of the police to repress all such conduct, but, at the same time, avowing it to be the unquestionable right of the people to meet and express their opinion regarding the public acts of public agents. These resolutions were adopted, after some discussion.

A resolution was then offered by Mr. Roberts, to the effect, that the people of Richmond disapprove of the disorderly proceedings at the Governor's House, Friday night; but that there was nothing in the action of the meeting which they condemned.

This gave rise to a long discussion, in the course of which many very sharp things were said of those Honourables who had taken upon themselves the functions of censor. Mr. Lyons, in the course of some animated and pertinent remarks, observed that the fruits of the Governor's misplaced clemency had that day been realized in the city, by the enaction of another scene very similar to that which produced the death of young Jackson. In this case death had not occured, though blood had been shed.

After much discussion by various gentlemen, Dr. Gooch—a gentleman and a democrat, who was present at the "mob," and witnessed everything that passed—submitted a resolution, which declared, in substance, as well as we could hear, that there had been no "mob;" that all the hubbub thereanent was fal-lal; that the people of Richmond were the friends of order, and would maintain it; and that they had rights from which they would not shrink, &c. This was adopted and the meeting adjourned.

On the same day the subject was taken up by the Legislature, and the following Resolutions offered by a Mr. Lewis were passed, after a warm and long debate, by a vote of 72 to 44.

"Resolved, that a joint committee, consisting of nine on the part of the House, and six on the part of the Senate, be appointed to inquire into the expediency of moving the capitol of the commonwealth from the city of Richmond.

"Resolved, That said committee further inquire into and report to the General Assembly a more central and convenient location for the same, where the executive of the commonwealth can discharge his constitutional functions without subjecting the dignity of the office to insult, and his mansion to threatened and overt acts of violence."

A SECESSIONIST.—We honour a man who is true to his convictions though they may be erroneous. Wendell Phillips once said that the two greatest men in this country, and the only two among them worthy of any respect, were John C. Calhoun and William Lloyd Garrison, for both had a belief and acted up to it. Mr Calhoun in that respect has left some worthy successors, as witness the following letter. Our Congressional Halls would soon be vacant if the people believed heartily in any thing, whether it were Liberty or Slavery.

As we have alluded to Mr. Calhoun, it is not irrelevant to state that a friend, who has frequent communications with the spirit world through the medium of the "Knockings," informs us that that eminent Statesman is on the best of terms with John Quincy Adams, and—as our friend expressed it—has "owned up." We rather confess to a doubt whether Mr. Calhoun has been so easily converted; but there is no harm in hoping that they believe in the "Knockings" in South Carolina.

The following is the letter of Mr. Rhett to which we just alluded.

CHARLESTON, May 5, 1852.

To His Excellency John H. Means,
Governor of the State of South Carolina:

Dear Sir: Yours of the 2d instant was delivered to me by my son, whom you kindly deputed to bring me your communication, requesting me to reconsider the resignation I tendered to your Excellency of my seat as a Senator from South Carolina in the Congress of the United States. I assure your Excellency that I had naturally considered the course I should pursue, when I tendered you the resignation of my seat, and the subsequent reflection which is due to your Excellency's communication has not satisfied me (with profound deference to your Excellency) that I could have pursued any other course. I agree with your Excellency that the people, by the vote in October last, did decide against immediate separate secession; but I did not suppose, until convinced by the action of the Convention, that they had decided in favour of absolute submission. Still less did I suppose that it was inconsistent with their will that the convention should vindicate in some way the outraged sovereignty of the state, by some measure retaliatory on our common enemies, or preparing her in future for the better protection of her people. The ordinance affirming the right of secession, to which your Excellency alludes, is a mere declaration of an existing right which, from 1828 to this day, all parties in South Carolina have recognised. The ordinance neither facilitates its exercise, nor in any way gives potency to the right. In the condition in which the state was placed by the fall election, doing nothing by the convention, and assigning no reason for non-action, is not only submission to the wrongs of the General Government, but to my apprehension is a tacit affirmance of the policy of co-operation, which alone prevented us from acting.

I need not say to your Excellency that I have all my life been a supporter of state rights and state sovereignty. Co-operation repudiates both as practical entities, and instead of enforcing them, for the protection of the citizen of South Carolina, casts him on the aid and strength of other States. Any practical vindication by the convention of state rights, any measure asserting the sovereignty of the State, would have satisfied me that the State did not intend to rest on this policy. But she has done nothing in the convention, and I am compelled to infer that her position is submission and her policy co-operation. I repeat what I said in my letter of resignation to your Excellency, that I do not "deem myself a proper representative" of such a position and policy. I therefore regret that I cannot comply with the wishes of your Excellency, and withdraw my resignation.

Sensible of the profound respect I owe to the State as my sovereign, and deeply grateful for the many favours and honours she has conferred upon me, I bow to her declared will, and make way for those who, with hearts less sad, and judgments more convinced, can better sustain her in the course she has determined to pursue. Believe me dear sir, your most obedient servant. R. B. RHETT.

WILLIAM SMITH.—The case of this man, who was shot at Columbia by a slave-hunter, has been so far acted upon that the question of surrendering his murderer for trial to the authorities of Pennsylvania has been referred for consideration to a Committee of the Legislature of Maryland Farther than this, nothing has been, and nothing, perhaps, will be done.

The *Pennsylvania Freeman*, of last week, publishes the following letter from Hon. Joshua R. Giddings, and we hope that his suggestion will receive the attention it merits:

HALL OF REPRESENTATIVES, U. S.
May 4th, 1852.

To the Editor of the Pennsylvania Freeman:

SIR—Honour to the memory of those who die in defence of freedom has long been practised by all civilised people. We Americans approve this time-honoured custom. The splendid monument which rears its lofty spire on "Bunker Hill" was erected in honour of those who fell in defence of liberty, contending against unjust laws. I propose that the example be followed: Let a suitable mausoleum be reared to the memory of WILLIAM SMITH, who was slain on Thursday last at Columbia while defending his inalienable right to freedom, against a gang of piratical menstealers who dared pollute the soil of Pennsylvania, protected in their fiendish purpose by an act of Congress which coming generations will pronounce *inhuman* and INFAMOUS. Let a brief history of this sacrifice of human life to the fell spirit oppression, be deeply engraven upon the enduring granite, that the execrations of posterity may rest upon the memory of those who have perverted the powers of this Government to the base purpose of oppressing, degrading and brutalizing our fellow-men. To such an object I shall deem it a privilege to contribute according to my humble means.

Very respectfully,
J. R. GIDDINGS.

Miscellaneous Items.

THE OHIO WOMEN'S RIGHTS CONVENTION will meet in Massillon on the 26th of May.

—THE Baltimore Committee of Arrangement for the Democratic National Convention have ordered 20,000 feet of prime HICKORY PLANKS, direct from the Hermitage, with which to construct the PLATFORM to be used by the Convention.

—VACANCY FOR A DOCTOR.—Grenier, the Indian Agent in New-Mexico, wrote home on the 31st of March, that he knew of an opening for an enterprising Physician. A vacancy had happened and he told how. One of the Eutaws on the San Juan River was taken sick, and an Indian Doctor from the Rio Verde was called in to attend him. Owing to the strength of the disease, or to the weakness of the prescription of the doctor, the patient died and was buried. After the funeral the Doctor was by the friends of the deceased, tied up, shot and scalped; his wife's hair was cut off; his house burned, containing all his property, and all his animals killed. This is the law among these Indians, regulating doctors. The vacancy is yet unfilled.

—FEARGUS O'CONNER.—This eccentric gentleman, whose arrival in the Europa we announced yesterday, has been reported in the English newspapers to be, insane. We should think, from some of his earliest proceedings in this country, that the report is not far out of the way. He strolled into Stewart's store yesterday as we are informed, and, chucking a handsome young woman among the purchasers under the chin, asked how she would like a mustache? He was ejected from the premises, and afterwards returned, but did not renew any of his wild tricks. It is said that he left England without the knowledge of his friends, and that they will come after him by the next steamer.—*Evening Post.*

—JUST FROM SLAVERY.—Sanford Nellson, and John Nellson, escaped from Theodore Harrison of Ridgeville, Newhampshire Co., Virginia, on last Monday night. They wished us to say to Mr. Harrison, that he need not give himself any trouble about their being sold off by the Abolitionists. They are there reported as being slave stealers and slave traders; but these fugitives have found them to be their best friends. They were conducted by them to the "Underground Railroad," which brought them through to Canada in "double quick time," where the people are all free, the climate is mild, the soil is rich and productive, and the markets are ready and advantageous to the farmer.—*Voice of the Fugitive.*

—LOOK OUT FOR IMPOSITION.—Wilson Jones, who was published a few weeks ago in the *Oberlin Evangelist* as an imposter, while acting as an agent under the recommendation of Isaac J. Rice, of Canada, for the "fugitives," under the name of William Jones, has changed his name again for the purpose of deceiving Anti-Slavery friends in the vicinity of Adrian, Michigan. He is around begging aid among them to build a house, &c., and passing as a Baptist clergyman, by the name of "Thomas Clarkson." He is a large corpulent man, and has an Indian-like appearance; he has taken a woman from Canada with him, whom we are told that he is passing off as his wife—but she is not. For particulars, write to Rev. M. W. Fairfield, at Sandusky City, Ohio.—*Voice of the Fugitive.*

—THE ABOLITION EXCITEMENT IN GRAYSON CO., VA.—*A Court Dispersed by a Mob.*—We mentioned a few days ago that much excitement existed in Grayson county, Va., against certain parties suspected of being Abolitionists, and that Judge Brown was unable to hold the county court, in consequence of the resignation of the clerk, and his inability to procure another. It now appears that the court was dissolved by mob violence, the particulars of which are thus detailed in a letter from Carroll County to the *Lynchburg Virginian:*

"After the execution of the negroes in that county, some time ago, who had been excited to rebellion by a certain Methodist preacher by the name of Bacon, of which you have heard, the citizens held a meeting and instituted a sort of inquisition, to find out, if possible, who were the accomplices of said Bacon. Suspicion soon rested on a man of the name of Cornut, and on being charged with being an accomplice, he acknowledged the fact, and declared his intention of persevering in the cause; upon which he was severely lynched. Cornut then instituted suit against the parties, who afterwards held a meeting and passed resolutions, notifying the court and lawyers not to undertake the case upon pain of a coat of tar and feathers. The court, however, convened at the appointed time, and, true to their promise, a band of armed men marched around the court house, fired their guns by platoons, and dispersed the court in confusion. There was no blood shed. This county and the county of Wyeth have held meetings and passed resolutions sustaining the movement of the citizens of Grayson."

—INCENDIARY DOCTRINE.—In his speech at the Fillmore meeting on Monday, Hon. Humphrey Marshall defined a true Whig as "always the advocate of social order and of the security of private rights, both as to person and property. He would preserve the institutions of family and property as corner-stones of civilized society." Now, we submit that Mr. Marshall has no business to get up in such a meeting and put forth the heretical crudities of Abolitionism in this way. If he desires to preach disorganizing, anarchical ideas, let him go to the Anti-Slavery Convention. And in New York, too! It is a downright insult to all the respectable gentlemen of the legal profession and the Police, who live by violating private rights as to person and property and family ties, and who think it no shame to pocket a fee for stripping a man of all his rights and rendering him the mere chattel of another. Besides, if Mr. Marshall desired to assail the venerable and holy institution of Slavery, he ought to have done it openly at Louisville, or at least at Washington, instead of coming off here to do it in one or two short sentences buried up in the middle of a long speech. We trust his course will meet with the rebuke it deserves from the organs of conservatism and sound opinions.—*Tribune.*

—COUNSEL FOR ELIZABETH PARKER.—The following are the resolutions authorising the Governor of Pennsylvania to employ Counsel for Elizabeth Parker, as they passed the House of Representatives of that State:

Whereas, it is believed that a free born girl named Elizabeth Parker, of Chester County, has been abducted from this State, and has been sold into Slavery, and is now in the State of Louisiana; and whereas, efforts have been made, by humane individuals, to have the said Elizabeth Parker restored to freedom. Therefore,

Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania in General Assembly met, That the Governor be, and he is hereby authorized, if in his opinion, there is reasonable ground to believe that the said Elizabeth Parker was illegally abducted, to employ Counsel to prosecute the suit of said Elizabeth Parker for her freedom in the Courts of this Commonwealth, or of any other State; and further, that he is hereby authorized to draw his warrant upon the Treasurer of the State for any money which may be necessary to defray the expenses of prosecuting said suit.

Be it also Resolved, That the Governor be authorized to draw his warrant on the Treasurer of the State for all necessary expenses incurred in the suit of Rachael Parker, for her freedom, now pending in the Courts of Baltimore County in the State of Maryland, in the event that the expenses thereof shall not be awarded to be paid by the County or State aforesaid.

—THE MEXICAN SLAVE TRADE.—The practice of purchasing Indian children for slaves, is a trade carried on by the Mexican population of New Mexico and California. These traders, of late years, have extended their traffic into the limits of this Territory. This trade I have endeavoured to prevent; and this fall, happening to encounter a few of them in my travels as Superintendent of Indian Affairs, strictly prohibited their further traffic. The majority of them appeared satisfied, and after making a few exchanges of property in the settlements, returned to their own country; unfortunately, however, a few of them still determined to carry on their nefarious traffic; they have been arrested, and are now on their trial in this city.

It is unnecessary, perhaps, for me to indicate the true policy for Utah in regard to Slavery. Restrictions of law and government make all servants; but human flesh to be dealt in as property, is not consistent or compatible with the true principles of Government. My own feelings are, that no property can or should be recognised as existing in slaves, either Indian or African. No person can purchase them, without their becoming as free, so far as natural rights are concerned, as persons of any other colour; under the present low and degraded situation of the Indian race, so long as the practice of gambling away, selling, and otherwise disposing of their children; as also sacrificing prisoners obtains among them, it seems, indeed, that any transfer would be to them a relief and a benefit. Many a life by this means is saved; many a child redeemed from the thraldom of savage barbarity, and placed upon an equal footing with the more favoured portions of the human race. If in return for favours and expense which may have been incurred on their account, service should be considered due, it would become necessary that some law should provide the suitable regulations under which all such indebtedness should be defrayed. This may be said to present a new feature in the traffic of human beings; it is essentially purchasing them into freedom, instead of Slavery; but it is not the low, servile drudgery of Mexican Slavery, to which I would doom them, not to be raised among beings scarcely superior to themselves, but where they could find that consideration pertaining not only to civilized, but humane and benevolent society.—*Mes. of Gov. of Utah.*

Pledges to American Anti-Slavery Society.

MADE AT ANN

Miscellany.

LANGUAGE OF FRIENDS.

[Continued from Standard, of March 18th.]

FRIENDS also banished from the use of their Society all those modes of expression, which were considered as marks or designations of honour among men. Hence, in addressing any peer of the realm, they never used the common formula of "My Lord;" for though the peer in question might justly be the lord over many possessions, and tenants, and servants, yet he was no lord over their heritages or persons. Neither did they ever use the terms Excellency, or Grace, or Honour, upon similar occasions. They considered that the bestowing of these titles might bring them under the necessity of uttering what might be occasionally false. "For the persons," says Barclay, "obtaining these titles, either by election or hereditarily, may frequently be found to have nothing really in them deserving them, or answering to them; as some, to whom it is said, 'Your Excellency,' may have nothing of excellency in them; and he, who is called Your Grace, may be an enemy to grace; and he, who is called Your Honour, may be base and ignoble." They considered, also, that they might be setting up the creature, by giving him the titles of the Creator, so that he might think more highly of himself than he ought, and more degradingly than he ought of the rest of the human race.

But independently of these moral considerations, they rejected these titles, because they believed that Jesus Christ had set them an example by his own declarations and conduct on a certain occasion. When a person addressed him by the name of Good Master, he was rebuked as having done an improper thing "Why," says our Saviour, "callest though me good? There is none good but one, that is God." Mat xix. 17. This censure they believed to have been passed upon him, because Jesus Christ knew that, when the person addressed him by this title, he addressed him not in his divine nature or capacity, but only as a man.

But Jesus Christ not only refused to receive titles of distinction himself, in his human nature, but, on another occasion, exhorted his followers to shun them also. They were not to be like the Scribes and Pharisees, who wished for high and eminent distinction, that is, to be called Rabbi, Rabbi, of men; "but" says he, "be ye not called Rabbi, for one is your master, even Christ, and all ye are brethren," Mat. xxiii. 8; and he makes the desire, which he discovered in the Jews, of seeking after worldly instead of heavenly honours, to be one cause of their infidelity towards Christ, Jn. v. 44; for that such could not believe, as received honour from one another, and sought not the honour which cometh from God only; that is, that those persons, who courted earthly honours could not have that humility of mind, that spirit that was to be of no reputation in the world, which was essential to those who wished to become the followers of Christ.

These considerations, both those of a moral nature, and those of the example of Jesus Christ, weighed so much with the early Friends, that they made no exceptions even in favour of those royal dignity, or of the rulers of their own land. George Fox wrote several letters to great men. He wrote twice to the king of Poland, three or four times to Oliver Cromwell, and several times to Charles the Second; but he addressed them in no other manner than by their plain names, or by simple titles expressive of their situations as rulers or as kings. Friends never refuse *legal* titles in the superscriptions or direction of their letters. They would direct to the king, as king; to a peer, according to his rank, either as a duke, marquis, earl, viscount, or baron; to a clergyman, not as reverend, but as clerk [or minister.]

These several alterations, which took place in the language of the early Friends, was the rejection of the word Saint, when they spoke either of the apostles or of the primitive fathers. The papal authority had canonized these. This they considered to be an act of idolatry, and they thought they should be giving a sanction to superstition, if they continued the use of such a title either in their speech or writings. After this, various other alterations took place, according as individuals among them thought it right to expunge old expressions and to substitute new; and these alterations were adopted by the rest, as they had an opinion of those who used them, or as they felt the propriety of doing it. Hence, new phrases came into use, different from those which were used by the world on the same occasions; and these were gradually spread, till they became incorporated into the language of the Society. Of these, the following examples may suffice:

It is not common with the members of this Society to use the word Lucky, or Fortunate, in the way in which many others do. If a Friend had been out on a journey, and had experienced a number of fine days, he would never say that he had been lucky in his weather. In the same manner, if he had recovered from an indisposition, he would never say, in speaking of the circumstance, that he had Fortunately recovered, and that it was a Favour. Luck, Chance, or Fortune, are not allowed by Friends to have any power in the settlement of human affairs.

It is not usual with them to beg ten thousand Pardons, as some of the world do, for any little mistake. A Friend generally, on such an occasion, asks the person to excuse him. They never make use of the expression "Christian name." This name is called Christian by the world, because it is the name given to children in baptism, or, in other words, when they are christened, or when they are initiated as Christians. But Friends are never baptized with water. They have no belief that water-baptism can make a Christian, or that it is any true mark of membership with the Christian church. Hence, a man's Christian, name is called by them his First name, because it is the first name of the two, or of any other number of names that may belong to him.

In meeting a person, they never say "Good morrow," because all days are equally good. Nor, in parting with a person at night, do they say "Good evening," for a similar reason; but they make use, in the latter case, of the expression "Farewell."

I might proceed, till I made a vocabulary of expressions peculiar to Friends; but this is not necessary, and it is not all consistent with my design. I shall therefore only observe, that it is expected of Friends that they should use the language of the Society; that they should substitute Thou for You; that they should discard all flattering titles and expressions; and that they should adopt the numerical instead of the Heathen names of the days and months. George Fox gave the example himself in all these instances. Those of the Society, who depart from this usage, are said by their brethren to depart from "the plain language."

There will be no difficulty in imagining, if Friends have found fault with the words and expressions adopted by others, and these the great majority of the world, that the world will scrutinize and find fault with those of Friends in return. This, in fact, has turned out to be the case; and I know of no subject, except that of dress, where the world has been more lavish of its censures than in that before us.

When Friends first appeared as a religious community, many objections were thrown out against the peculiarities of their language. These were noticed by Robert Barclay and William Penn. And since that time other objections have been started. But as these have not been published (for they remain, where they have usually been, in the mouths of living persons), Friends have not felt themselves called upon to attempt to answer them. These objections, however, of both descriptions, I shall notice in the present place.

As the change of the pronoun Thou for You was the first article that I brought forward on the subject of the language of the Society, I shall begin with the objections that are usually started against it.

"Singularity, it is said, should always be avoided, if it can be done with a clear conscience. The members of this Society might have had honest scruples against You for Thou, when You was a mark of flattery. But they can have no reasonable scruples now, and therefore they should cease to be singular. For the word You is clearly no mark of flattery at the present day. However improper it might once have been, it is now an innocent synonym.

"The use, again, of the word Thou for You, as insisted on by Friends, leads them frequently into false grammar. 'Thee knowest,' and terms like these, are not unusual in their mouths. Now, Friends, though they defended the use of Thou for You, on the ground that they ought not to accustom their lips to flattery, defended it also strenuously on the ground that they were strictly adhering to grammar rules. But all such terms as 'thee knowest' must recoil upon themselves as incorrect, and as censurable, even upon their own ground."

"The word You, again, may be considered as a singular, as well as a plural expression. The world use it in this manner. And who are the makers of language but the world? Words change their meaning as the leaves their colour in autumn; and custom has always been found powerful enough to give authority for a change."

With respect to these objections, it must be confessed that the word You has certainly so far lost its meaning, as to be no longer a mark of flattery, and therefore Friends have lost one of their reasons for its disuse. It must be confessed, also, that the members of this Society frequently adopt the ungrammatical expressions that have been brought against them. But surely all such lose another of their reasons for their disuse of this pronoun. They should either endeavour to speak more correctly, or give up the grammatical part of the defence by Penn and Barclay, and conform to the practice of the world.* That You, however, is of the singular, is not quite so clear. You and Thou have certainly a concurrent jurisdiction, but they have it only by custom through a length of time. For while Thou is used in the singular number in the Bible and in the Liturgy, and in the prayers of individuals; and while it is the language, as it is, of a great portion of the inhabitants of the northern part of the kingdom, it will be a standing monument against the usurpation and dominion of You. The subject which comes next in order, will be that of the objections that are usually made against certain terms used by the Society, and against its disuse of titles of honour, as sanctioned by the world.

On the use of the words "friend," and "neighbour," it is usually observed that these are too limited in their meaning, to be always, if used promiscuously, representatives of the truth. If Friends are so nice that they will use no expression that is not precisely true, they should invent additional terms, which should express the relative condition of those with whom they converse. The word "friend" denotes esteem; and the word "neighbour" proximity of dwelling. But all the persons to whom Friends address themselves are not persons whom they love and respect, or who are the inhabitants of the same neighbourhood with themselves. There is, it is said, as much untruth in calling a man friend, or neighbour, who is not so, as excellency, in whom there may be nothing that is excellent.

In reply to this, Friends would observe that they use the word Friend as significative of their own union, and, when they speak to others, as significative of their Christian relation one to another. In the same sense they use the word neighbour. Jesus Christ, when the lawyer asked him who was his neighbour, gave him a short history of the Samaritan—Luke x. 29—who fell among thieves; from which he suggested an inference that the term neighbour was not confined to those who lived near one another, or belonged to the same sect, but that it might extend to those who lived at a distance, and to the Samaritan equally with the Jew. In the same manner he considered all men as brethren—Matt. xxiii. 8—that is, they were thus scripturally related to one another.

Another objection which has been raised against the Society on this part of the subject, is levelled against its disuse of the titles of honour of the world. Luke, it has been said, makes use of the term most excellent, when he addresses Theophilus; and Paul, of the words most noble, when he addresses Festus. Now these teachers and promulgators of Christianity would never have been given these titles if they had not been allowed by the Gospel.

As this last argument was used in the time of Barclay, he has noticed it in his celebrated *Apology*:—"Since Luke," says he, "wrote by the dictates of the infallible Spirit of God, I think it will not be doubted but Theophilus did deserve it, as being really endued with that virtue; in which case we shall not condemn those who do it by the same rule. But it is not proved that Luke gave Theophilus this title, as that which was inherent to him either by his father, or by any patent Theophilus had obtained from any of the princes of the earth, or that he would have given it to him in case he had not been truly excellent; and without this be proved, which never can, there can nothing hence be deduced against us. The like may be said of that of Paul to Festus, whom he would not have called such if he had not been truly noble; as indeed he was, in that he suffered him to be heard in his own cause, and would not give way to the fury of the Jews against him. It was not because of any outward title bestowed upon Festus that he so called him, else he would have given the same compellation to his predecessor, Felix, who had the same office; but, being a covetous man, we find he gives him no such title".

This is the answer of Barclay. It has, however, not been deemed quite satisfactory to the world. It has been observed against it, that one good action will never give a man a right to a general title. This is undoubtedly an observation of some weight. But it must be contended, on the other hand, that both Luke and Paul must have been apprized that the religion they were so strenuous in propagating, required every man to speak the truth. They must have been apprized also, that it inculcated humility of mind. And it is probable, therefore, that they would never have bestowed titles upon men which should have been false in their application, or productive of vanity and pride. Luke could not be otherwise than aware of the answer of Jesus Christ, when he rebuked the person for giving him the title of Good, because he was one of the evangelists who recorded it; Luke xviii. 18. And Paul could not have been otherwise than aware of it also, on account of his intimacy with Luke, as well as from other causes.

Neither has this answer of Barclay been considered as satisfactory, for another reason. It has been presumed that the expressions of excellent, and of noble, were established titles of rank: and if an evangelist and an apostle used them, they could not be objectionable if used by others. But, in reply to this, let us admit for a moment that they were titles of rank. How happens it that Paul, when he was before Festus, and not in a judicial capacity (for he had been reserved for Cæsar's tribunal), should have given him this epithet of noble; and that, when summoned before Felix, and this in a judicial capacity, he should have omitted it? This application of it to the one and not to the other, either implies that it was no title, or, if it was a title, as has been presumed, that Paul had some reason for this partial use of it. And in this case no better reason can be given than that suggested by Barclay. Paul knew that Festus had done his duty. He knew on the other hand, the abandoned character of Felix. The latter was then living, as Josephus relates, in open adultery with Drusilla, who had been married to Azis, and brought away from her husband by the help of Simon, a magician. And this circumstance, probably, gave occasion to Paul to dwell upon temperance (or continence, as the word might be rendered), among other subjects, when he made Felix tremble. But, besides this, he must have known the general character of a man, of whom Tacitus complained that "his governmept was distinguished by servility, and every species of cruelty and lust." Per omnem sævitiam et libidinem jus regium servili ingenio exercuit. If, therefore, the epithet of noble was an established title for those Romans who held the government of Judea, the giving of it to one, and the omission of it to the other, would probably show the discrimination of Paul as a Christian, that he had no objection to give it where it could be applied with truth, but that he refused it where it was not applicable to the living character.

But that the expression of excellent, or of noble, was any title at all, there is no evidence to show. And first, let us examine the word which was used upon this occasion. The original Greek word Κράτιστος has no meaning as a title in any lexicon that I have seen. It relates both to personal and civil power; and, in a secondary sense, to the strength and disposition of the mind. It occurs but in four places in the New Testament. In two of these it is translated excellent, and in the others, noble. But Gilbert Wakefield, one of our best scholars, has expunged the word noble, and substituted excellent, throughout. Indeed, of all the meanings of this word, noble is the least proper. No judgment, therefore, can be pronounced in favour of a title by any analysis of this word.

Let us now examine it as used by Luke. And here almost every consideration makes against it as an established title. In the first place, the wisest commentators do not know who Theophilus was. It has been supposed by many learned Fathers, such as Epiphanius, Salvian, and others, that Luke, in addressing his Gospel to Theophilus, addressed it, as the words "Excellent Theophilus" import, to every "firm lover of God," or, if Luke uses the style of Athanasius Μακαρίος and Φιλόχριστος are substituted by Athanasius for the word Christian, to every "good Christian." But, on a supposition that Theophilus had been a living character, and a man in power, the use of the epithet is against it as a title of rank; because Luke gives it to Theophilus in the beginning of his Gospel, and does not give it to him when he addresses him in the Acts. If, therefore, he had addressed him in this manner, because excellent was his proper title on one occasion, it would have been a kind of legal, and at any rate a disrespectful omission, not to have given it him on the other.

With respect to the term noble, as used by Paul to Festus, the sense of it must be determined by general as well as by particular considerations. There are two circumstances, which, at the first sight, make in favour of it as a title. Lysias (Acts xxiii. 26), addresses his letter to the "most Excellent Felix," and the orator, Tertullus (Acts xxiv. 3), says, "We accept it always, and in all places, most Noble Felix!" But there must be some drawback from the latter circumstance, as an argument of weight. There is reazon to suppose that this expression was used by Tertullus as a piece of flattery, to compass the death of Paul; for it is of a piece with the other expressions which he used, when he talked of the "worthy deeds" done by the providence of so detestable a wretch as Felix. And it will always be an objection to noble, as a legal title, that Paul gave it to one governor and omitted to another, except he did it for the reasons that have been before described.

To these observations we may add another, which will be of considerable importance in this dispute, namely, that legal titles of eminence were not then, as at this day, in use. Agrippa had no other, or at least Paul gave him no other title than that of king. If Porcius Festus had been descended from a patrician, or had had the statues of his ancestors, he might, on these accounts, be said to have been of a noble family. But we know that nobody, on this account, would have addressed him as noble in those days, either by speech or letter. The first Roman who was ever honoured with a legal title, as a title of distinction, was Octavius, upon whom the Senate, but a few years before the birth of Paul, had conferred the name of Augustus. But no procurator of a province took this title. Neither does it appear that this circumstance gave birth to inferior titles to those in inferior officers in the government. And indeed on the title "Augustus" it may be observed, that though it followed the successors of Octavius, it was but sparingly used, being mostly used on medals, monumental pillars, and in public acts of the State. Pliny, in his letters to Trajan, though reputed an excellent prince, addressed him only as Sir, or Master; and he wrote many years after the death of Paul. Athenagoras, in addressing his book, in times posterior to these, to the emperors M. Aurelius Antoninus and L. Aurelius Commodus, addresses them only by the title of "Great Princes." In short, titles were not in use. They did not creep in, so as to be commonly used, till after the statues of the emperors had begun to be worshipped by the military as a legal and customary homage. The terms of Eternity and Divinity, with others, were then ushered in, but these were confined wholly to the emperors themselves. In the time of Constantine we find the title of Illustrious. This was given to those princes who had distinguished themselves in war, but it was not continued to their descendants. In process of time, however, it became more common, and the son of every prince began to be called Illustrious.—(*Glasgow*) *British Friend.*

* A *principle* is not fairly censurable on account of an *inconsistency* not necessarily connected with it; at the same time, those who make it matter of conscience to speak grammatically, ought not to be guilty of so gross an error as the one here referred to: "Thou that teachest another, teachest thou not thyself?"—EDS.

The Old Man's Funeral.

BY W. C. BRYANT.

I saw an aged man upon his bier,
His hair was thin and white, and on his brow
A record of the cares of many a year;
Cares that were ended and forgotten now.
And there was sadness round, and faces bowed,
And women's tears fell fast, and children wailed aloud.

Then rose another hoary man, and said,
In faltering accents, to that weeping train,
"Why mourn ye that our ancient friend is dead?
Ye are not sad to see the gathered grain;
Nor when their mellow fruit the orchards cast,
Nor when the yellow woods shake down their ripened mast.

"Ye sigh not when the sun, his course fulfilled,
His glorious course, rejoicing earth and sky,
In the soft evening, when the winds are stilled,
Sinks where his islands of refreshment lie,
And leaves the smile of his departure spread
O'er the warm-coloured heaven and ruddy mountain head.

"Why weep ye, then, for him, who, having won
The bound of man's appointed years at last,
Life's blessings all enjoyed, life's labours done,
Serenely to his final resting place he passed;
While the soft memories of his virtues yet,
Lingers like twilight hues when the bright sun is set?

"His youth was innocent; his riper age
Marked with some act of goodness every day
And watched by eyes that loved him calm and sage,
Faded his late delining years away.
Cheerful he gave his being up, and went
To share the holy rest that waits a life well spent."

"That life was happy every day he gave
Thanks for the fair existence which was his;
For a sick fancy made him not her slave,
To mock him with her phantom miseries,
No chronic tortures rack'd his aged limb,
For luxury and sloth had nourished none for him."

"And I am glad that he has lived thus long,
And glad that he has gone to his reward;
Nor can I deem that nature did him wrong,
Safely to disengage the vital chord.
When his weak hand grew palsied, and his eye
Dark with the mists of age, it was his time to die."

REDUNDANCY OF WORDS.—The excess to which the unchecked use of redundancy tends may be imagined from what the Arabian authors tell us, as a boast of their tongue. The lexicographer Mohammedes Al-Firanzabadius reckoned above fourscore names for *honey*, and 1000 for a *sword*; and Ebn Khalawih composed one volume on the 200 words expressing *serpent*, and another on the 500 signifying a *lion*.—*Quarterly Review.*

THE TRANSMIGRATIONS OF BUDDHA.

"THE Tartars believe with firm and absolute faith in all these various transmigrations. They would never allow themselves to entertain the slight doubt as to the authenticity of the Chaberons. These living Buddhas are in large numbers, and are always placed at the head of the most important Lamaseries. Sometimes they mostly begin their career in a small temple, and have only a few disciples; but very soon their reputation increases around, and the small Lamasery becomes a place of pilgrimage. The neighbouring Lamas, speculating upon the rising fashion, surround it with their cells; the Lamasery acquires development from year to year, and becomes at last famous in the land.

"The election and enthronisation of the living Buddhas are conducted, in so singular a manner as to be well worth relating. When a Grand Lama has gone, that is to say, is dead, the circumstance is no occasion of mourning in the Lamasery. There are no tears, no lamentations, for everybody knows the Chaberon will very soon re-appear. This apparent death is but the beginning of a new existence, as it were, one ring more added to the unlimited, uninterrupted chain of successive lives—a regular palingenesis. While the saint is in a state of chrysalis, his disciples are in the greatest anxiety; for it is their most important affair to discover the place where their master will re-assume life. A rainbow appearing in the air is considered a signal sent to them by their old Great Lama, to aid them in their research. Every one thereupon says his prayers, and while the Lamasery which has lost its Buddha redoubles its fastings and prayers, a troop of elect proceed to consult the Tchurtchun or augur, famous for the knowledge of things hidden from the common herd. He is informed that on such a day of such a moon the rainbow of the Chaberon has manifested itself on the sky: it made its appearance in such a place, it was more or less luminous, and it was visible so long; then it disappeared under such and such circumstances. When the Tchurtchun has received all the necessary indications, he recites some prayers, opens his books of divination, and pronounces at last his oracle, while the Tartars who have come to consult him, listen, kneeling and full of unction. 'Your Great Lama,' says he, 'has re-appeared in Thibet, at such a distance from your Lamasery. You will find him in such a family.' When these poor Mongols have heard this oracle, they return full of joy to announce the glad tidings to their Lamasery.

"It often happens that the disciples of the defunct have no occasion to trouble themselves at all in order to discover the new birth-place of their Great Lama. He himself takes the trouble to initiate them into the secret of his transformation. As soon as he has effected his metamorphosis in Thibet, he reveals himself at an age when common children cannot yet articulate a single word. 'It is I,' he says, with the accent of authority; 'it is I who am the Great Lama, the living Buddha of such a temple; conduct me to my ancient Lamasery. I am its immortal Superior.' The wonderful baby having thus spoken, it is speedily communicated to the Lamas of the locality indicated, that their Chaberon is born in such a place, and they are summoned to attend and invite him home.

"In whatever manner the Tartars discover the residence of their Great Lama, whether by the appearance of the rainbow or by the spontaneous revelation of the Chaberon himself, they are always full of intense joy on the occasion. Soon all is movement in the tents, and the thousand preparations for a long journey are made with enthusiasm, for it is almost always in Thibet that they have to seek the living Buddha, who seldom fails to play them the trick of transmigrating in some remote and almost inaccessible country. Every one contributes his share to the organization of the holy journey. If the king of the country does not place himself at the head of the caravan, he sends his own son or one of the most illustrious members of the royal family. The great Mandarins, or ministers of the king, consider it their duty and an honour to join the party. When everything is at last prepared, an auspicious day is chosen, and the caravan starts.

"Sometimes these poor Mongols, after having endured incredible fatigues in horrible deserts, fall into the hands of the brigands of the Blue Sea, who strip them from head to foot. If they do not die of hunger and cold in these dreadful solitudes—if they succeed in returning to the place whence they came—they commence the preparations for a new journey. There is nothing capable of discouraging them. At last, when, by dint of energy and perseverance, they have contrived to reach the eternal sanctuary, they prostrate themselves before the child who has been indicated to them. The young Chaberon, however, is not saluted and pronounced Great Lama without a previous examination. There is held a solemn sitting, at which the new living Buddha is examined publicly, with a scrupulous attention. He is asked the name of the Lamasery of which he assumes to be the Great Lama; at what distance it is; what is the number of Lamas residing in it. He is interrogated respecting the habits and customs of the defunct Great Lama, and the principal circumstances attending his death. After all these questions, there are placed before him different prayer-books, articles of furniture, tea-pots, cups, &c., and amongst all these things he has to point out those which belonged to his former life.

"Generally this child, at most but five or six years old, comes forth victorious out of all these trials. He answers accurately all the questions that are put to him, and makes, without any embarrassment, the inventory of his goods. 'Here,' he says, 'are the prayer-books I used; there is the japanned porringer, out of which I drank my tea.'

* * * * * *

"When the titles of the living Buddha have been confirmed, he is conducted in triumph to the Lamasery, of which he is to be the Grand Lama. Upon the road he takes, all is excitement, all is movement. The Tartars assemble in large crowds to prostrate themselves on his way, and to present to him their offerings. As soon as he is arrived at Lamasery, he is placed upon the altar; and then, kings, princes, mandarins, Lamas, Tartars, from the richest to the poorest, come and bend the knee before this child, which has been brought from the depths of Thibet, at enormous expense, and whose demoniac possessions excite everybody's respect, admiration, and enthusiasm.

"There is no Tartar kingdom that does not possess, in one of its Lamaseries of the first class, a living Buddha. Besides this Superior, there is always another Grand Lama, who is selected from the members of the royal family. The Thibetian Lama resides in the Lamasery, like a living idol, receiving every day the adorations of the devout, upon whom, in return, he bestows his blessing. Everything which relates to prayers and liturgical ceremonies is placed under his immediate superintendence. The Mongul Grand Lama is charged with the administration, good order, and executive of the Lamasery: he governs while his colleague is content to reign. The famous maxim, *Le roi règne et ne gouverne pas*, is not, therefore, the grand discovery in politics that some people imagine. People pretend to invent a new system, and merely plunder, without saying a word about it, the old constitution of the Tartar Lamaseries."—*Huc's Travels in Tartary, &c.*

For the National Anti-Slavery Standard.

Hymn.

BY LUCY A. COLBY.

I thank Thee, Father, for the glorious beauty
Which thou hast poured profusely round our way,
To cheer us onward in the path of duty
From day to day.

I thank Thee for the flowers that oversprinkle
The fertile fields and gem the grassy lawn,
Within whose lustrous eyes the dew drops twinkle
At early dawn.

For in each gentle floweret, meek and lowly,
That droops to rest its cheek upon the sod,
Fully many an untaught lesson, high and holy,
We read of God.

The green trees waving in the breeze of Summer,
The solemn anthem of the sounding sea,
The singing bird, an ever-welcome comer,
All speak of Thee.

I thank Thee for *all* things of Thy creation,
For I can learn in Nature's solitude
To see in each mysterious dispensation
Some latent good.

I learn that with affliction joy is blended,
And sunbeams struggle through the darkest gloom,
To cheer us as our way is onward wended
Unto the tomb.

Then, need we fear to enter the dark portals,
And down to Death's mysterious vale repair?
Beyond it lies the Land of the Immortals,
Serene and fair!

Danvers, Mass.

One vice is more expensive than many virtues.

Gleanings from Foreign Publications.

——THE REPRESENTATION OF THE TOWER HAMLETS.—An aggregate meeting of Nonconformists was held last night at the British School-room, Cowper-street, City-road, to hear addresses from Messrs. Thompson and Ayrton, "in reference to the ecclesiastical establishments, and the great principles of religious liberty." Mr. Ayrton declared himself unconditionally in favour of the abolition of church establishments, and he would not have any religious questions brought under the consideration of the Legislature. Mr. G. Thompson complained of the leading Dissenters of the Tower Hamlets for deserting their principles, and supporting Sir W. Clay against him. A resolution was then proposed, declaring the confidence of the electors present in Messrs. Thompson and Ayrton, which was carried almost unanimously.—*London News.*

——HOOD, ON WATER-CURE.—The late Thomas Hood, in closing a review of Claridge on Hydropathy, says:

"It was our intention to have quoted a case of fever which was got under in the way Mr. Braidwood would have quenched an inflammation in a house. But our limits forbid. In the meantime, it has been our good fortune, since reading Claridge, to see a sick drake avail himself of the water-cure, at the dispensary in St James' Park. First, in waddling in, he took a Fass-bad, then he took a Sitz-bad, and then, turning his curly tail up into the air, he took a Kopf-bad. Lastly, he rose almost upright on his latter end, and made such a triumphant flapping with his wings that we really expected he was going to shout 'Preisnetz for ever.' But no such thing. He only cried, 'Quack, quack, quack.'"

——THE RUPTURE OF BURKE AND FOX.—I was present at that painful scene: to me Burke appeared all fury and unreasonableness; but, perhaps, I was too young to be a competent judge, and too affectionately attached to Mr. Fox to be an impartial one. More than one person present, however, whose partialities, at least political partialities, leant to Burke, assured me that they were touched by the tenderness and affection of Mr. Fox to an old friend, and hurt and disgusted by the coarseness and virulence of Mr. Burke. Nothing can be more false than the account of that memorable debate in Prior's Life of Burke. Mr. Pitt himself, I have been told, praised Mr. Fox's temper, and censured Mr. Burke's want of it on that occasion. Burke from that time had no intercourse with the Whigs, but for the purpose of disuniting them.—*Lord Holland's Memoirs of the Whig Party.*

——NAMES OF FLOWERS.—Our weakness in respect of flowers, which we will call music for the eye, is great, and the writer of the treatise before us is one after our heart, loving the sweet and unassuming plants, christened when gardening was an art and not a mystery, and it was easy to know "every flower, because they were few, and every name because they were simple." Give us a Rose, and let those who will, take the *Istactepetzacuxochitl Icohneyo*, and the other equally euphoniously-named rarities. Carnations and geraniums, and the fragrant violet jasmine, and pale primroses, all breathing poetry and sentiment, sound far sweeter in our ears than the ecorymocarpos, the polypodium aspenifolium, or the cardiospermum halicacabum! If we were not afraid of having it quoted against us years hence, when we may think differently, like two abused lines by a rising statesman of the day, we would positively say—

Let garden-science die,
So that they but leave our old vocabulary.

—*The Builder.*

——In the work just published by William and Mary Howitt, upon the Literature and Romance of Northern Europe, some amusing extracts are given from the writings of Atterbom, the chief of that school, who will persist in offering us mystic extravagances for poetry. His poetic diction became a constant struggle after an abstract, mystic and undetermined Germanism, the strangeness of which was less inspired than grotesque. He has done such daring feats of this kind as are sufficient to make one's hair stand on end in wonder "how such a little light-haired man could arrive at such a pitch of desperate valour." Many of his boldest phrases have become quite proverbial—as, "astral purple enchantment"—"elysian spirit-rustling"—"the silver twinkling of the midnight cloud"—"bright moon witchery"—"magic spirit-strains"—and the like. When Atterbom, in one of his "Flowers," describes the East, he bursts out—

"The Earth dressed herself for the *Sun-Sultan's* eyes
In a robe of *one tulip* of measureless size!"

—And in another place in the same collection of "Flowers," he sings how the moon—

"The *lily august of the spirit-world's sphere*
In God's mother's star-wreath glittereth clear."

Upon which, the satirical Vitalis somewhere says, it really takes some time to get accustomed to such phenomena—but

"The poet finds such things as light as a feather,
And sets heaven and earth in a flower-pot together."

——INVENTORS AND THEIR NAMES.—And is it not strange, knowing how universal this desire for posthumous fame is, that the inventors and discoverers of printing, the steam engine, gas, the electric telegraph, and hosts of others, should not have had the wit to bind their names to their discoveries? Ten to one, but in the course of time they will be forgotten, for it is all very well to talk about that great gossip, the press, keeping the names of these worthies fresh in our memories. It really does no such thing. It preserves them, perhaps, in those great pickle jars of knowledge, our Encyclopædies. But what a miserable renown is that! Our notion is, that the thing invented should be chained to the inventor's name. Be bound to it, like a captive to a victor's car, and ought always to be at hand to grace his triumphs. In many instances this has been done. Everybody knows that Jacquard's loom was invented by Jacquard, and there is an end of the matter. In like manner, Volta and Galvani have bequeathed their names to posterity. MacAdam has paved his way to a respectable fame. Lundyfoot is not to be sneezed at. Masmer has tacked his name to a notion that will tickle the fancies of coming generations. Sir Humphrey Davy's lamp will burn for ever, and Daguerre also is safe as long as the sun shines.—*Bentley's Miscellany.*

——ANOTHER FABLE OF THE ARCTIC EXPEDITION.—The Admiralty, on Wednesday, forwarded, with true Tory exclusiveness, another cock and bull story relating to the Arctic Expedition, to the *Times* and *Morning Herald only*. A merchant captain at Tynemouth stated lately, in conversation with an officer of one of her Majesty's ships, that two three-masted vessels had been seen on an iceberg off Newfoundland, in April, 1851, by the brig Renovation, of North Shields, on her passage to Quebec. This statement being accompanied with a surmise as to the possibility of their being Sir John Franklin's ships, the Lords of the Admirality have instituted the most rigid inquiry. Letters have been written to the collectors of Customs at all the whaling ports in England and Scotland, in order to ascertain if any whalers answering to the description given were missing in 1850 or 1851; and the master of the Renovation will be closely interrogated on his arrival at Venice. The statements of the different parties are quite irreconcileable, and the *Daily News* remarks that they who rashly and thoughtlessly give additional currency to questionable stories are scarcely less culpable than those who invent such stories. "The conduct of the *gobemouches* of the Admirality in giving a wider circulation to so improbable a tale—a tale so weakly supported by anything deserving the name of evidence—before their inquiries enabled them either to affirm or contradict it, is highly blameable." It is more than probable the vision seen by those on board the Renovation may have been the reflection of that vessel from two different surfaces of the iceberg to which it is said they were attached. If the objects seen had been real ships, some other vessels would have seen them on a coast so much frequented as Newfoundland is by trading and fishing vessels."

——THE DREAM WORLD.—There is surely a nearer apprehension of anything that delights us, in our dreams, than in our waked senses. Without this I were unhappy; for my awaked judgment discontents me, ever whispering unto me that I am from my friend, but my friendly dreams in the night requite me, and make me think I am within his arms. I thank God for my happy dreams, as I do for my good rest; for there is a satisfaction in them unto reasonable desires, and such as can be content with a fit of happiness. And surely it is not a melancholy conceit to think we are all asleep in this world, and that the conceits of this life are as mere dreams, to those of the next, as the phantasms of the night to the conceit of the day. There is an equal delusion in both, and the one doth but seem to be the emblem or picture of the other. We are somewhat more than ourselves in our sleeps; and the slumber of the body seems to be but the waking of the soul. It is the litigation of sense, but the liberty of reason; and our waking conceptions do not match the fancies of our sleeps. At my nativity, my ascendant was the watery sign of Scorpio; I was born in the planetary hour of Saturn, and I think I have a piece of that leaden planet in me. I am no way facetious, nor disposed for the mirth and galliardise of company; yet in one dream I can compose a whole comedy, behold the action, apprehend the jests, and laugh myself awake at the conceits thereof. Were my memory as faithful as my reason is then fruitful, I would never study but in my dreams, and this time also would I choose for my devotions; but our grosser memories have then so little hold of our abstracted understandings, that they forget the story, and can only relate to our awaked souls a confused and broken tale of that which hath passed. Aristotle, who hath written a singular tract of sleep, hath not, methinks, thoroughly defined it; nor yet Galen, though he seems to have corrected it; for those nocturnal authors and night-walkers, though in their sleep, do yet enjoy the action of their senses. We must, therefore, say that there is something in us that is not in the jurisdiction of Morpheus; and that those abstracted and ecstatick souls do walk about it in their own corpses, as spirits with the bodies they commune with, wherein they seem to hear, see, and feel, though indeed the organs are destitute of sense, and their natures of those faculties that should inform them. Thus this observed, that men sometimes, upon the hour of their departure, do speak and reason above themselves. For then the soul begins to be freed from the ligaments of the body, begins to reason like herself, and to discourse in a strain above mortality.—*Sir Thomas Browne's Works.*

——THE FAMILY OF KOSSUTH.—It having been found impossible to establish a case against Mesdames Meszlényi and Ruttkay, they have been liberated, and are now residing in the Hotel National, in the Leopoldstadt. The Austrian government has at length come to the conclusion that nothing is to be gained by detaining Kossuth's relations here, and accordingly the whole family—some seventeen persons, I believe—will be permitted to quit this country on the 1st of May. As people here can never do anything with a good grace, difficulties have been raised about the servants, who were willing to go with the emigrants. The authorities insist on the Kossuth family emigrating alone, which, in my opinion, is most unreasonable, as there are four females and eleven children of the party. From a perfectly credible source I learn that Madame Meszlényi, who is said to have as much moral courage as all the rest of her family put together, completely baffled all the attempts of the authorities to extract any information of consequence from her. The military judge (auditor) to whom the case was entrusted, dictated a protocol purporting to be a recapitulation of the admissions made by the defendants, and Madame Meszlényi was instructed to sign it. 'Never,' cried the spirited woman, 'will I consent to sign that which, though not positively false, is not perfectly true. Let me dictate the protocol, which I am well able to do, and then I will willingly sign it.' Justice requires that I should state that Kossuth's sisters were kindly treated during their imprisonment, and that their mother's letters to them were duly delivered, after having been read by the authorities, to whose safekeeping they were entrusted. The old lady admonished her child ren to take courage and to remain firm, 'as the sun must rise at last, be the night ever so dark and long.' This, I have reason to believe, is the sense, if not the literal translation of a phrase contained in one of the letters delivered into the hands of the prisoners. As Madame Kossuth and her family will not be permitted to come here, they will meet with Mesdames Meszlényi and Ruttkay somewhere on the road to Bodenbach."

——TRUE SELF-REVERENCE.—But there is yet a more ingenuous and noble degree of honest shame, or, to call it, if you will, an esteem whereby men bear an inward reverence to themselves. And if the love of God, as a fire sent from heaven to be ever kept alive upon the altar of our hearts, be the first principle of all godly and virtuous actions in men, this pious and just honouring ourselves is the second, and may be thought as the radical moisture and fountain-head, whence every laudable and worthy enterprise issues forth; and although I have given it the name of a liquid thing, yet it is not incontinent to bound itself, as humid things are, but hath in it a most restraining and powerful abstinence to start back and globe itself upward from the mixture of any ungenerous and unbecoming motion, or any soil, wherewith it may peril to stain itself. Something, I confess, it is to be ashamed of evil-doing in the presence of any; and to reverence the opinion and the countenance of a good man, rather than a bad, fearing most in his sight to offend, goes so far as almost to be virtuous; yet this is but still the fear of infamy, and many such, when they find themselves alone, saving their reputation, will compound with other scruples, and come to a close treaty with their deerer vices in secret. But he that holds himself in reverence and due esteem, both for the dignity of God's image upon him, and for the price of his redemption, which he thinks is visibly marked upon his forehead, accounts himself both a fit person to do the noblest and godliest deeds, and much better worth than to deject and defile, with such a debasement and such a pollution as sin is, himself so highly ransomed and ennobled, to a new friendship and filial relation with God. Nor can he fear so much the offence and reproach of others as he dreads and would blush at the reflection of his own severe and modest eye upon himself, if it should see him doing or imagining that which is sinful, though in the deepest secresy.—*John Milton: "Reason of Church Government urged against Prelaty."*

——EFFECTS OF MAGNETS UPON THE HUMAN BODY.—If we make downward passes with magnets, having a supporting power of about 10lb, along the persons of from fifteen to twenty individuals, but without touching them, we shall always find one, or perhaps more, among the number who feel affected thereby in a peculiar manner. The proportion of human beings which may be found to be thus sensitive, is, in general, greater than we imagine. It sometimes happens that, in the above number, three or four sensitive persons are found; indeed, I am acquainted with an institution where, on trial, out of twenty-two females there assembled, not less than eighteen perceived the sensation caused by the passage of the magnet, more or less distinctly. The nature of this impression on such excitable persons, who may, however, often be justified in regarding themselves as perfectly healthy, is not easily described. It is rather unpleasant than agreeable, and is associated with a gentle feeling, sometimes of cold, at other times of warmth, which resembles a cool or tepid *aura*